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ARTICLES AND STUDIES

PROSOPOGRAPHIA PONTI EUXINI. DIONYSOPOLIS*

ANNAMÁRIA-IZABELLA PÁZSINT

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Abstract: This article presents the results of a work in progress research, respectively a prosopography on the population attested in the Greek cities of the Black Sea and Propontis (*Prosopographia Ponti Euxini*), focusing in this case (based on the epigraphic sources) on the population of Dionysopolis. As such, the paper will focus on the epigraphically attested quantitative data on the population of Dionysopolis, and on the qualitative data, covering the period between the first epigraphic attestations and up to the 3rd century AD. The work includes a prosopographical catalogue with the epigraphically attested population.

Keywords: epigraphy; prosopography; society; networks; Dionysopolis.

Rezumat: Acest articol prezintă rezultatele unei cercetări în desfășurare, respectiv o prosopografie a populației atestate în orașele grecești ale Mării Negre și Propontidei (*Prosopographia Ponti Euxini*), concentrându-se în acest caz (pe baza surselor epigrafice) asupra populației orașului Dionysopolis. În acest sens, lucrarea se axează pe informațiile cantitative și calitative ce reies din sursele epigrafice cu privire la populația orașului Dionysopolis, de la primele atestări epigrafice și până în secolul III p. Chr. Lucrarea include și un catalog prosopografic cu populația atestată epigrafic.

Cuvinte cheie: epigrafie; prosopografie; societate; rețele; Dionysopolis.

1. Introduction

The goal of the *Prosopographia Ponti Euxini. Dionysopolis* (PPED), as part of a larger individual research project (*Prosopographia Ponti Euxini*), has been to achieve a prosopographical work on Dionysopolis' population (based on the epigraphic sources), covering the period between the first epigraphic attestations and up to the 3rd century AD. The present study is its direct outcome, respectively a study on the population of Dionysopolis, which includes quantitative and qualitative analyses.

As other former Greek *poleis* from the area, Dionysopolis (Pl. I/1) has been also overlapped by the modern city,¹ which certainly restricts the archaeological investigations. Over the years the attention of specialists has focused on several aspects connected to the history of the city, such as the existence of one or two ancient settlements in the area,²

* This work was supported through a scholarship on behalf of the E. Lozovan Foundation, at the University of Copenhagen, Denmark granted to the author for the month of June 2021. I would like to express once again my gratitude to the E. Lozovan Foundation for this chance and all the support provided.

¹ Lazarenko et alii 2010, 13.

² Damyanov 2007, 4–5; Gočeva 1995, 219–222; Gočeva 1996, 13–16, etc.

the territory of the city,³ its coinage,⁴ various religious aspects,⁵ the imperial cult,⁶ or the different finds pertaining to the city or from its vicinity,⁷ etc. In this context the monograph on the temple of the Mother of Gods⁸ must be mentioned as it is an excellent work on the site discovered in the seaside area, which has been archaeologically researched, the excavation providing rich evidence connected to the building and the corresponding activities. The study of the population has been much more punctual, the dataset pertaining to Dionysopolis being mostly integrated in wider research on the population of the Roman province Moesia Inferior.⁹ As such, a more indepth analysis on Dionysopolis' population seems adequate.

The methodology has been developed and customised based on similar research initiatives applied to other geographical areas, as well as on the previous sub-projects of the *Prosopographia Ponti Euxini*, using also the newest research methodologies (implying the use of the Romans 1 by 1 database, Gephi for network analyses and visualisation). Previous to Dionysopolis, the focus has been also on the population of Tomis and Byzantion, and next the intention is to continue the research with Istros, Callatis and Odessus, these being representative cities for the western coast of the Black Sea, part of the *Hexapolis* and *Pentapolis*, as well as of the Roman province Moesia Inferior.

From a methodological point of view, the first step of this endeavour implied the selection and insertion of all the inscriptions that provide information on the population of Dionysopolis (from the first epigraphic attestations and up to the 3rd century AD) in the prosopographical database Romans 1 by 1 (which at the moment has also a section dedicated to the Greek world), this step having as goal to provide open-access to the information for anyone interested in accessing it, specialist or non-specialist. Considering the goal of our initiative to focus on the local population, some exceptions have been made, more precisely excluded were those inscriptions that record kings, emperors and the *legati Augusti pro praetore* (e.g., Titus Pomponius Vitrasius Proculus Pollio), as well as the evidence from the fragmentary inscriptions (such as the votive ones) and from those inscriptions that do not render with certainty evidence on the population (as they are too fragmentary). Further on, the next step implied the preparation of the prosopographical catalogue, based on which further analyses and interpretations were made. Excluded from this analysis have been also the *Dionysopolitai* who are attested temporarily or permanently in other parts of the Greek and Roman world, since they have already been included in the *Prosopographia Ponti Euxini Externa* of Alexandru Avram. According to the author, *Dionysopolitai* are attested in various cities, such as Callatis, Rome, Clarus, Miletus, Vasada. The overall number is rather small, when compared to the population of other ancient cities, e.g., Byzantion, or Tomis, fact which is to be explained not only

³ Damyanov 2007, 1–36; Slavova 1998a, 57–62; Slavova 1998b, 99–106; Matei-Popescu 2014, 457–471.

⁴ Canarache 1957, 61–78; Boteva-Bojanova 1995, 73–75; Draganov 1995, 60–63; Draganov 2000, 275–279; Dima 2002, 69–72; Lazarenko 2004, 132–173; Lazarenko 2006–2007, 27–37; Stancomb 2006–2007, 51–53; Karajotov 2007, 127–174; Tachev 2016; Calomino 2017, 261–271; Dotkova, Russeva, Bozhkova 2018, etc.

⁵ Gočeva 1980, 49–53.

⁶ Gočeva 2007, 352–359.

⁷ Damyanov 2003, 25–36.

⁸ Lazarenko et alii 2010, 13–62; Lazarenko et alii 2013.

⁹ E.g., Cojocar 1996, 135–148.

through a seemingly lower degree of mobility of the *Dionysopolitai*, but also through a lower overall number of the population attested at Dionysopolis, as compared to Byzantion or Tomis.

2. Brief historical introduction

The history of Dionysopolis has been thoroughly studied,¹⁰ as such, in the following lines we will only briefly outline some important aspects. According to ancient sources, such as Pseudo-Skymnos (Ps.-Skymnos fr. 2b/751–755), or Pliny (*NH*, IV, 44), the name of Dionysopolis (nowadays Balčik) was initially Κρουνόι (which has the meaning of springs),¹¹ but it was changed to Dionysopolis after a statue of Dionysos was brought by the sea to the shores of the city according to a myth, which might point to a re-foundation.¹² It is the moment (4th–3rd century BC) when the foundation of the city probably took place, as the epigraphic evidence points to the name of the city.¹³ In what concerns its origin, the city was possibly a Milesian foundation,¹⁴ hypothesis sustained through the Ionic dialect of the inscriptions,¹⁵ as well as through the attestation of the Milesian *phylai*, however, no source mentions the mother colony, or the founding date.¹⁶ The possibility of Dionysopolis being a secondary foundation of another Milesian colony in the area¹⁷ is also a likely and debated scenario. From an autonomous city, Dionysopolis becomes part of the province Moesia Inferior in the 1st century AD, being also part of the *Hexapolis* and then *Pentapolis*. The city continues its existence up to the 6th century AD, when it was abandoned.¹⁸ The eponymous magistracy was held by the priest of Dionysos,¹⁹ especially since in an inscription the names of the eponymous priests are written along with that of the god himself,²⁰ but also considering the fact that he was the patron god of the city, after whom the city was named. Besides Dionysos,²¹ worshipped were also Apollo,²² Demeter,²³ Cybele²⁴ and Theos Megas;²⁵ some of these being worshipped inside private associations.

¹⁰ Tafrali 1927; Tafrali 1928, 5–19; Velkov 1990, 1–5; Dimitrov 2001; Avram, Hind, Tsetschladze 2004, 932; Damyanov 2007, 1–36.

¹¹ Avram, Hind, Tsetschladze 2004, 932. Under this name is mentioned, for example, in a 2nd–3rd century inscription from Vasada, Lycaonia (an epitaph for a physician): GVI 520 = Samama 2003, 444, no. 345: ὠκύμορον ξείνον/Διονύσιον, ἐσθλὸν / ἱητρὸν, ἀντὶ πάτρης / Κρουνῶν γῆ κατέχει / Οὐασάδων. See also Robert 1989, 228–229.

¹² Avram, Hind, Tsetschladze 2004, 932.

¹³ Damyanov 2007, 3.

¹⁴ Ehrhardt 1988, 65–66; Avram, Hind, Tsetschladze 2004, 932.

¹⁵ Bilabel 1920, 15.

¹⁶ Avram, Hind, Tsetschladze 2004, 932; Damyanov 2007, 3.

¹⁷ Damyanov 2007, 5.

¹⁸ Lazarenko et alii 2013, 7.

¹⁹ Gočeva 1980, 49–53; Avram, Hind, Tsetschladze 2004, 932.

²⁰ IGB I² 22.

²¹ Chiekova 2008, 108–111.

²² Chiekova 2008, 64–67.

²³ Chiekova 2008, 124–125.

²⁴ Chiekova 2008, 135–136.

²⁵ Chiekova 2008, 189.

3. Overview of the data

At this moment, for the period between the 5th century BC and the 3rd century AD there are 56²⁶ inscriptions coming from Dionysopolis that provide information on its population. Overall, at the scale of the city, the number of inscriptions and persons is rather small when compared to other nearby *poleis* (e.g., Istros, Tomis, Callatis), nevertheless, this is to be explained also through the fact that the modern city overlaps the ancient one,²⁷ but one cannot either compare the city of Tomis, for example, with the one of Dionysopolis, the former having a greater importance at a regional level during the Roman period. From a chronological point of view, most inscriptions come from the 3rd century AD, but overall, the distribution of the BC and AD periods tends to be proportional (Pl. I/2). In what concerns the population, the most numerous attestations come from the Roman period, but this is influenced by the *alba* of associations that record a high number of individuals on the same monument, not making the sample representative. Due to the fact that the modern city overlaps the ancient one, we have only glimpses on the overall population of Dionysopolis, but this is specific for all epigraphic initiatives and this aspect does not diminish such contributions as they tackle the existing evidence. The real number of the population is impossible to give as the epigraphic sources provide only a percentage of the overall number, gap which could be filled through further archaeological investigations. Even though the epigraphic sources do not reflect the real number of the population, such researches are useful because they bring to light epigraphic habits. From a quantitative point of view, most of the inscriptions are dedications (21), followed by honorary inscriptions (nine), *alba* (eight), funerary inscriptions (eight), and decrees (nine), but there is also mention of an endowment, a *graffito* and an unknown type of inscription. The funerary inscriptions provide only scarce information on the persons mentioned, usually the inscriptions record only the name(s) of the deceased and maybe their close family members, or the family member who elevated the monument for him/her; nevertheless, the wordier Greek funerary inscriptions are less frequent in general in Moesia Inferior, being present mostly at Tomis and Istros. In what concerns the types of monuments (generally steles, but also some sarcophagi and altars), most of them are made of marble (37), while the remaining monuments are from limestone, plaster, or their exact material could not be established. As expected for this part of the ancient world, the predominant language of the inscriptions is Greek (56) with only two inscriptions written in Latin (attested in the 3rd century AD) and no bilingual inscriptions. This is not surprising considering the city we are dealing with.

4. People of Dionysopolis

From the inscriptions attested between the 5th century BC and the 3rd century AD it results a number of 433 persons, and when reconstructing their profile, the gender distribution is an important aspect to look at. Here, as in most ancient cities, the male population is certainly the best attested (Pl. I/3), representing 98% of the population. As compared to other cities, there is a lower number of persons whose gender cannot be

²⁶ Professor N. Sharankov kindly informed me on the existence of a paper that he has in print with new inscriptions from Dionysopolis. To my knowledge it has not been published by the time I sent the article for publication (March 2022).

²⁷ Damyanov 2007, 2.

established from the contextual evidence (one), women's presence being very scarce (only ten). This latter fact is to be explained also by the biased character of the sources, and the attestation of several *alba* recording associations, in which generally male members predominate. There where women are attested, they are usually recorded as daughters, wives or mothers, and in most cases not as the main character of an inscription, but as a secondary one. However, there are also some exceptions, as the dedication of funerary monuments to them, or also to them (and the nuclear family members), or in the case where they have the position of priestesses, as Ζουκη daughter of Ἡρακλείδης who was a *ἱέρεια* of the goddess Μήτηρ θεῶν Ποντία, or Μαμασισις daughter of Ἑλλην, who was a *ἱέρεια* of the Μήτηρ θεῶν Ποντία. Nevertheless, the low representativeness of women in inscriptions is specific for most parts of the Greek and Roman world, and the nearby Greek cities follow this epigraphic habit as well. But not only women are underrepresented, overall, at the scale of the city, but also children (their age being usually mentioned at their death), or, from a juridical point of view, slaves. The iconography of the monuments rarely depicts these categories of the population,²⁸ but in the case of women there is a scene representing a seated woman,²⁹ in the *pudicitia* pose and possibly "with a maid".³⁰ As previously mentioned, a low number of *Dionysopolitai* is attested in other parts of the Greek and Roman world (mostly in other Greek cities), and on the other way around there is an even lower number of foreigners attested at Dionysopolis. Ἑρμάφιλος Κυζικηνός³¹ is one of the foreigners that we can explicitly identify, as the inscription mentions his origin as Cyzicus. He died and was buried at Dionysopolis, but we cannot tell if he settled there or if he died there during a journey. The monument dedicated to him is among the few from Dionysopolis that have representations, in this case a cantharos, the pediment having an incised tympanum.³² Another foreigner is Δημοσθένης Νεικομηδεύς attested as member of an association (from Dionysopolis or Nicomedia); the reason for his presence at Dionysopolis and its duration remain unknown. Additionally, three decrees record the granting of proxeny for a citizen of Odessus (Ἀριστομένης son of Διονύσιος),³³ possibly one of Callatis (Διονύσιος son of Διονύσιος)³⁴ and one of Mesambria.³⁵ As such, we see that they originate from nearby Pontic or Propontic cities. Besides them, under Cotys III, the *horothesia*³⁶ between Dionysopolis, Callatis and Odessus mentions two *horiiothetai* from Callatis (Γερωντίδας son of Σεῖμος,³⁷ Ἡράκλειτος son of Μόνιμος³⁸) and two from Odessus (Λεόκριτος son of Ἰππαγόρας,³⁹ Μένανδρος son of Προμαθίων⁴⁰) whom were sent by the respective cities and whom

²⁸ Petrova 2015, 146.

²⁹ IGB I² 26 = IGB V 5011, 2.

³⁰ Petrova 2015, D-1, Pl. 20.2, 256.

³¹ IGB I² 25 = IGB V 5011, 2.

³² Petrova 2015, D-2, Pl. 20.4–6, 257–258.

³³ IGB I² 13, 2; *PPEE* 2532; Cojocaru 2016, 51, no. 3, 1.

³⁴ IGB I² 13, 3; *PPEE* 2187; Cojocaru 2016, 51–52, no. 4, 2.

³⁵ SEG 60, 761 = Sharankov 2013, 60–61; Cojocaru 2016, 52, no. 5, 3. And an *ateleia* decree: SEG 59, 730 = SEG 60, 762 = Sharankov 2013, 61–61; Cojocaru 2016, 53, no. 6, 4.

³⁶ See, Slavova 1998a, 99–106; Slavova 1998b, 57–62; Tacheva 2001, 77–84; Matei-Popescu 2014, 457–471.

³⁷ IGB V 5011 = SEG 37, 607 = SEG 47, 1120; *PPEE* 2185.

³⁸ IGB V 5011 = SEG 37, 607 = SEG 47, 1120; *PPEE* 2188.

³⁹ IGB V 5011 = SEG 37, 607 = SEG 47, 1120; *PPEE* 2535.

⁴⁰ IGB V 5011 = SEG 37, 607 = SEG 47, 1120; *PPEE* 2536.

along with *horiothetai* from Dionysopolis established the boundaries of the territories. Additionally, two inscriptions mention two *buleutae* of Dionysopolis but of other cities as well: such is the case of T. Aurelius T. f. Papiria Flauinus, a *primipilaris* who was also a *buleuta* of Tyras, Dionysopolis, Marcianopolis, civitas Tungrorum and Aquincum;⁴¹ but also that of Μάρκος Πομπήϊος Λούκιος⁴² who was a *buleuta* of Dionysopolis, Callatis and Marcianopolis. On the other way around, *Dionysopolitai* are mentioned at Callatis,⁴³ Rome,⁴⁴ Clarus,⁴⁵ Miletus,⁴⁶ Vasada.⁴⁷ Overall, the epigraphically attested relations of *Dionysopolitai* with other cities are of a more personal nature.⁴⁸

Considering the fact that age is not so commonly mentioned in inscriptions (overall, in Moesia Inferior there are 584⁴⁹ persons on whom we have age-related information) and the fact that a large number of persons are attested on *alba*, it is not surprising to see that at Dionysopolis there is only a funerary inscription that mentions the age of a deceased (Flavius Nepotianus), age which is fragmentary, but certainly above 20 years.⁵⁰

Onomastics is another component that helps us reconstructing the profile of *Dionysopolitai*. Their nomenclature is composed of the personal name and the patronymic and it points to highly preponderant Greek personal names all along the centuries, with only some Thracian elements. This is to be translated both as a non-epigraphic manifestation of the Thracian population, and as the undertaking of Greek names by Thracians.⁵¹ As discussed by M. Dana, the integration of the indigenous population in the civic and cultural life is to be seen for example through the indigenous personal names attested in the ephebic lists.⁵² A significant number of persons has *duo nomina* (110) but only six persons have also *praenomina*. With the exceptions of four persons (Ennius Repertus, Flavius Nepotianus – both attested on the same inscription, Φλαούιος Ἀντίπατρος and Ιούλιος Ἀλέξανδρος), the overwhelming majority of persons having *duo nomina* use the *nomen* Αὐρήλιος, fact that points to them having received the citizenship only with Caracalla. The Latin *cognomina* or personal names are rarely encountered (e.g.: Αὐδασιανός, Βίκτωρ, Ἰουβεντιός?, Κλαύδιος, Κοκκέϊος, Κρήσκης, Λούκιος, Μαρκιανός, Nepotianus, Repertus, Ροῦφος), and in some cases, the *nomen* Αὐρήλιος is used as *cognomen* – a common practice all over the Greek and Roman world. In what concerns the personal names/*cognomina* of the family members, they are usually from a similar register (Greek personal name and patronymic: e.g. Μενεκράτης son of Πολύξενος; Μητρόδωρος son of Ἡρακλειδί[---]; or Thracian personal name and patronymic: e.g. Μουκάπορις son of Αὐλούπορις). As discussed by M. Dana and D. Dana, in areas such as Dionysopolis, ethnicity can be hardly established based on onomastic, as

⁴¹ ILBulg 18 = CIL III 14416 = AE 1900, 155 = AE 1961, 208 = AE 1999, 1326 = IDRE II 320; PPEE 996.

⁴² IGB I² 24, 2.

⁴³ PPEE 986.

⁴⁴ PPEE 988.

⁴⁵ PPEE 991.

⁴⁶ PPEE 992.

⁴⁷ PPEE 993.

⁴⁸ Ruscu 2002, 164.

⁴⁹ Varga et alii 2018, 50–51.

⁵⁰ AE 1895, 57 = CIL III 12444.

⁵¹ See e.g., Besevliev 1970 for the Greek personal names of Thracians (16–27); for the Roman personal names of Thracians (28–37); for the Latinised and Graecized personal names of Thracians (38–46).

⁵² Dana 2011, 37.

the indigenous population could undertake Greek personal names.⁵³ In other cities of the Greek and Roman world (e.g. Tomis, or Istros) some inscriptions dedicated to the wife and/or husband offer also the (relative?) number of years of marriage (they might even add “*sine ulla animi laesione*” – expression encountered 17 times at Lugdunum⁵⁴), but the inscriptions of Dionysopolis offer no such examples. This is not surprising considering the scarcity of the personal information recorded in the inscriptions, and the low number of funerary inscriptions.

Coming back to the personal names, the theophoric Greek personal names are very frequent, among these, the most popular personal names derive of course from the name of Dionysos (e.g. Διονύσιος, Διονύσιππος?, Διονυσόδωρος). At the opposite end, there are only two personal names derived from Hephaistos (e.g. Ἡφαιστόδ[ημος?] and Ἡφ[---]), a rather inauspicious name, which is seldom used all over the Greek and Roman world. Even though personal names such as Αἴολος, Ἀλκείδης, Ἀνθρωπίων are not theophoric, they represent additional examples of rare personal names, attested with predominance in the Hellenistic period. Personal names might be written in different forms, for example the Latin name Victor is written both as Οὐίκτωρ (Αὐρήλιος Οὐίκτωρ) and Βίκτωρ (Λούκιος Οὐαλέριος Βίκτωρ), similarly we also find the forms Βαλεριανός and Βιάτωρ (Αὐρήλιος Βιάτωρ) but Οὐαλέριος. Other personal names point to the familial appurtenance as is the case of Ἀγαθίων who was the son of Ἀγάθων, while some are incorrectly written: Γυκέρα instead of Γλυκέρα.

Just as in many other Pontic cities, homonymy (personal names and patronymics) occurs at Dionysopolis as well, but the different identity of the persons can be established based on additional information provided by the type of inscriptions and their dating. One such example is that of Ἀπήμεων son of Νίκιος, who might have been an eponymous magistrate and Αὐρήλιος Ἀπήμεων son of Νεικίος?, a member of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας. At first sight one could say that we are dealing with the same person who first appears as a peregrine, and then as a Roman citizen. However, they are two different persons as the first one is attested in the 2nd century BC and the second in the 3rd century AD. Even though they are not the same person, they could be part of the same family who perpetuated these personal names along the centuries. Ἀπήμεων is otherwise a rare personal name encountered only in nine other instances exclusively in the BC period and mostly at Athens.⁵⁵

Overall, except for information on families (see below) there are not so many personal details on the life of individuals, they are recorded mostly as part of specific groups, or communities, their own histories fading out in the collective one. This is not a specificity of Dionysopolis but rather the result of the biased character of the sources.

5. Networks at Dionysopolis and beyond

At Dionysopolis, the evidence for networks comes especially from the ten inscriptions attesting ten private associations, recording overall a number of 120 members.⁵⁶ Except for

⁵³ Dana, Dana 2013, 284.

⁵⁴ Varga, Pázsint 2021, 129.

⁵⁵ See the LGPN II, LGPN IIIA and LGPN IV.

⁵⁶ On the associations attested at Dionysopolis see, Pázsint 2022, in print – from which several of the following paragraphs come.

these inscriptions, we can only rarely reconstruct networks, even those within the family core. The associative phenomenon is quite well represented, two associations come from the Hellenistic period, while the other eight come from the 2nd-3rd century AD. The earliest association is the Βακχεασταί οἱ περὶ Ἑράτωνα Δημοφίλου,⁵⁷ on which we have evidence from the dedication of the priest, made in the name of the association, written on a marble statue representing Pan playing the syrinx. As the terminology points out, Ἑράτων son of Δημοφίλος was probably the leader of the association, or its founder, since the members are grouped around him. Additionally, we know the name of the priest Ἀπολλώνιος son of Δημοφών but not of the other members. Ἀπολλώνιος might have been the same person as the dedicator of a statue base of the Pontic Mother of Gods.⁵⁸ Considering the patronymic he might also be related to the life-long priest of the Pontic Mother of Gods, Δημοφών son of Μῦς (and [Μῦς] son of Δημοφών⁵⁹).

The associative phenomenon continues its existence in the Roman period, when various catalogues record an impressive number of members, the best attested period being the 2nd-3rd century AD. This is mostly due to the discoveries made in the temple of the Mother of Gods,⁶⁰ results now published, the inscriptions themselves being the object of study of N. Sharankov.⁶¹ In this period an inscription records, for example, the existence of an Ἀθηναστής,⁶² respectively a member in an association devoted to Athena, deity rarely worshiped in associations all over the Greek and Roman world. The person attested comes from Nicomedia, therefore we cannot tell if he was a member of this association at Nicomedia or at Dionysopolis; moreover, the dedication he makes is for Heracles, not for the tutelary deity of the association. In this case, the connections of Δημοσθένης Νεικομηδεύς, the dedicator, cannot be precisely established, but given his appurtenance, as well as his origin, he certainly had extended connections outside the family circle, as these were common for those who travelled and also joined private associations. A common origin was also at the core of some associations, such might have been the case of the Ἀσιανῶν σπεῖρα πρεσβ(υτέρων?),⁶³ who might have gathered based on a possible common origin (Asia Minor), or a common worshipped god (Dionysos).⁶⁴ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Κουρήν son of Ἑστιαῖος was a member of the elite in Dionysopolis, being πρῶτος ἄρχων of

⁵⁷ IGB I² 20 = Jaccottet 2003 II, 106–107, no. 52 = CAP (Copenhagen Association Project) Inv. 1118.

⁵⁸ Sharankov 2013, 50.

⁵⁹ Sharankov 2013, 52 = SEG 63, 522.

⁶⁰ The temple was used for the worshipping of other gods, such as: Heracles, Poseidon Asphaleus, Thracian Rider: Lazarenko et alii 2013, 58–59.

⁶¹ I thank professor N. Sharankov for having shared with me the reading of the *album* of the association of Νεομηνιασταί, *album* included by him in a study in print. Since the study is in print, I have not included his reading of the inscription, therefore there are some differences between his reading and the one used in this paper, more precisely there are some (minor) differences in the reading of some names. I have used the readings found in Lazarenko et alii 2010, 32–34, 57 (fig. 23); Avram 2011, 445–448, no. 448; Sharankov 2013, 55–57, fig. 47; SEG 60, 767, SEG 63, 523 and CAPInv. 1156.

⁶² Sharankov 2013, 45, 59 = SEG 60, 778 = CAPInv. 1246.

⁶³ IGB I² 23 = Robert and Robert 1952, 160–161, no. 100 = Jaccottet 2003 II, 107, no. 53 = AGRW 71 = CAPInv. 1152.

⁶⁴ The groups under the name of Ἀσιανοί usually denote Dionysiac associations: Jaccottet 2003 II, 52–53, no. 19–20. They very likely did not point to the geographical origin of the members, but rather to the characteristics of the Dionysiac cult: Jaccottet 2003 II, 53, no. 20.

the city⁶⁵ and a priest of the association of Ἄττεις οἱ κὲ Ἀτιαστὲ εἰαιρόδουλοι Μητρὸς θεᾶς Ποντίας,⁶⁶ moreover he makes a dedication to the previously mentioned association of Ἀσιανῶν σπεῖρα πρεσβ(υτέρων?), which certainly extends not only his networks, but also the ones of the associations to which he was connected. But he is not the only one being connected to more than one association, a similar case being that of Αὐρήλιος Ἑρμῆς. As it results from Pl. II, based on the members, there are three interconnected associations: green marks individuals who were part of the Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεᾶς Πον[τία]ς⁶⁷ (most of them), pink the members of the Ἄττεις οἱ κὲ Ἀτιαστὲ εἰαιρόδουλοι Μητρὸς θεᾶς Ποντίας, orange those of both, while grey marks the member who was part of the Ἄττεις οἱ κὲ Ἀτιαστὲ εἰαιρόδουλοι Μητρὸς θεᾶς Ποντίας and of the Ἀσιανῶν σπεῖρα πρεσβ(υτέρων?). The overlap is not impressive in number, but it does point to the interconnectivity of persons.⁶⁸

The most numerous members, and certainly the best interconnected, are the Νεομηνιασταὶ (over 80 persons, 13 of them being added on the inscriptions at a later date⁶⁹). This is the highest membership of any western Black Sea associations, and exhibits the largest known number of members in such an association bearing the imperial *nomen* Αὐρήλιος (61), which allows to date it after AD 212.⁷⁰ The association seems to have played an important role at a local level, and this is reflected also in its members who were part of the elite. As such, Πυθοκλῆς son of Ἄττας, priest of the feast, was the father of Αὐρήλιος Θεόμνηστος,⁷¹ a πρῶτος ἄρχων of the city.⁷² Unlike his son, Πυθοκλῆς follows the Greek onomastic system, not the Roman, despite the fact that the inscription is set after AD 212. The family clearly belongs to the local elite, and while the father exhibits his Greekness, the son, probably due to his position, wanted to express his devotion and appreciation for Roman values, and his belonging to the Roman community. Another example has been previously mentioned, that of Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Κουρῆς son of Ἑστιαῖος, who was also a πρῶτος ἄρχων of the city, and at the same time he was part of two associations, in one he had the important position of priest and in the other he was mentioned as ἱερονόμος (possibly in the civic cult); both associations were very important local ones, dedicated to the main gods, Dionysos and Cybele. Besides them, Ιούλιος Ἀλέξανδρος was probably a member of the elite as well, since he was the sole associative member from Dionysopolis to bear the imperial *nomen* Ιούλιος, which points to him having acquired Roman citizenship early on and not, like his fellow members, under Caracalla. Considering the great number of Aurelii, the association probably had only a few members pertaining to the upper social stratum. In view of the importance of deities in Dionysopolis, it is not surprising to find

⁶⁵ Sharankov 2013, 33, 57.

⁶⁶ Sharankov 2013, 57–58 = SEG 60, 768 = CAPIInv. 1157. As pointed out by D. Chiekova (Chiekova 2008, 128), Cybele, the Phrygian goddess, the Great Mother of Gods, was one of the most worshipped divinities in the cities of the western Black Sea coast, Attis being her acolyte. Here, the goddess is mentioned with the epithet *Pontia*, which is “an indication of the goddess’s function as protector of sailors” (Sharankov 2013, 49).

⁶⁷ Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523 = CAPIInv. 1156.

⁶⁸ This paragraph comes from Pázsint 2022, in print.

⁶⁹ Sharankov 2013, 55.

⁷⁰ Sharankov 2013, 55.

⁷¹ IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007.

⁷² For this office, see Ruscu 2015.

members of the elite attested in this private setting, and in leading positions. The adherence of members of the elite to such associations brought advantages on both sides, mostly resulting in increased social capital and visibility in the public sphere.⁷³

This association is representative also through the fact that it displays a significant number of family members (fathers and sons, brothers) as members, which is important considering that the evidence for family networks is scarce. The above-mentioned Πυθοκλῆς son of Ἄττας was possibly the brother of Αὐρήλιος Ἡρακλέων son of Ἄττας. Further on, some non-associative inscriptions attest the son of Πυθοκλῆς,⁷⁴ where there is also a certain Αὐρήλιος Ποσειδώνιος son of Ἄττας (νεώτερος) and an Αὐρήλιος Ἄττας son of Ἀντίπατρος. Considering these, it results that from roughly the same period there are two different patronymics for Ἄττας – the father of Πυθοκλῆς and of Αὐρήλιος Ἡρακλέων, and Ἄττας (νεώτερος) the father of Αὐρήλιος Ποσειδώνιος; besides these there is the personal name Ἄττας used as a cognomen. It looks like these belonged to three different families. Besides this example, one should also bring to the fore the family of Ἡρακλέων, whose sons were members of the same association: Αὐρήλιος Διοκλῆς, Αὐρήλιος Ἡρακλέων and Αὐρήλιος Θεόδωρος. Other examples must be treated more cautiously, for example the patronymic Σειλανός is recorded in two associations at Dionysopolis, that of the Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεᾶς Πον[τία]ς and of the Ἄττεις οἱ κὲ Ἄτιαστὲ εἰαιρόδουλοι Μητρὸς θεᾶς Ποντίας; being mentioned as patronymic for Πιαιτραλῖς, Αὐρήλιος Γλαῦκος and Αὐρήλιος. Furthermore, it is also encountered as *cognomen*. Due to the homonymy, we are probably dealing with two families, or several generations of the same family. A higher degree of certainty regarding the familial appurtenance can be identified in the case of Ἑρμιππος's family: Αὐρήλιος Διονύσιος, Αὐρήλιος Θεογένης; that of Μητρόδωρος's family: Αὐρήλιος Γλαῦκος, Αὐρήλιος Ἰουβεντιός?; that of Πολύξενος's family: Κορτιανός, Αὐρήλιος Μενεκράτης, Αὐρήλιος Νουμήνης. Last but not least, we should add Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Κουρῆς son of Ἑστιαῖος, who was probably the father of Αὐρήλιος Εὐάγριος son of Κούρης, both members in the association of Νεομηνιασταί.⁷⁵

Significant connections had not only these associations, on whose members we are lucky to have so much information but also the ὑμνωδοί,⁷⁶ one group being devoted to Dionysos,⁷⁷ the patron deity of the city (ὑμνωδοὶ νεώτεροι⁷⁸), while the other group were imperial ὑμνωδοί (ὑμνοῦσι τοὺς Σεβαστούς).⁷⁹ Both of these groups were well-connected inside society considering their specificity, even though the inscriptions provide only scarce information on their members. If the ὑμνωδοί devoted to Dionysos were probably popular due to the place that the cult of Dionysos had in the city, the imperial ὑμνωδοί appear in connection with the members of the *Pentapolis* Council.⁸⁰

Less significant at a local level, and less prestigious than the imperial ὑμνωδοί and the previously mentioned associations, is an association attested later on, in the second half of

⁷³ This paragraph comes from Pázsint 2022, in print.

⁷⁴ IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007.

⁷⁵ This paragraph comes from Pázsint 2022, in print.

⁷⁶ On ὑμνωδοί see, among others, Poland 1909, 46–49; Pippidi 1967, 451; Belayche 2013, 30–35; etc.

⁷⁷ Pippidi 1967, 455.

⁷⁸ IGB I² 17 = IGB V 5009.

⁷⁹ IGB I² 15, 3 = IGB V 5007.

⁸⁰ Bottez 2009, 69.

the 3rd century.⁸¹ Based on the terminology it probably involved mysteries for Cybele (the position of ἀρχιγάλλος is mentioned), the total number of attested members being 16. As a temple of the Mother of Gods has been uncovered at Dionysopolis, it is no surprise to have evidence on an association devoted to her, as well as to Attis.

Mentioned in an inscription pertaining to another association is the famous Ἀκορνίων son of Διονύσιος, ambassador of Dionysopolis; while he was probably not a member of the attested association, he might have performed sacrifices on behalf of the association and of the city as an eponymous ἱερεὺς. Considering these, he seems to be one of the best-connected persons from Dionysopolis due to his profile, being among the major actors of the city, but his direct connections can be barely reconstructed.

Besides these examples, wider networks can be also supposed in the case of elite members, such as the ποντάρχαι, ἄρχοντες, βουλευταί, γυμνασιάρχαι and ἔφηβαρχοι.

6. Glimpses on the society of Dionysopolis

Based on the available evidence, the information on the structure of society at Dionysopolis is limited (diachronically or not), and this due to the fact that on the one hand the sources are very scarce for some centuries, and on the other hand due to the predominance of catalogues recording members of associations, which reveal limited information. Hierarchies existed also at the level of associations and can be traced based on the positions occupied by the members, as well as by their juridical status.

As in other cities, at Dionysopolis the society was hierarchical, the population being differentiated first of all based on juridical status. The inscriptions allow us to differentiate between citizens of Dionysopolis, Roman citizens later on, freedmen and slaves. The latter juridical category is very poorly represented, with only one explicit mention. It is the case of Ζουκηγέσκος, a female slave who in the 1st century AD was given to the sanctuary of the Mother of Gods, along with the children that she was going to give birth to.⁸² Iconographic representations of slaves are missing from the known monuments pertaining to Dionysopolis (a sole possible evidence might be from the monument of IGB I² 26 = IGB V 5011(2) mentioned above), this being an alternative source for identifying this juridical category, as all over the Greek and Roman world they are depicted in the funerary banquet scene, being also a demographic reality, not only a funerary motif.

Overall, based on the nomenclature we can presume the existence of around 115 Roman citizens, some freedmen. Considering that most of the evidence comes from *alba*, dated to the period between the 2nd and 3rd century AD, most of the persons received the Roman citizenship following the edict of Caracalla.

As rarely a person is attested in two or more inscriptions, there is no evidence of clear vertical mobility over the decades, but this is certainly the case for some families who at a specific point (before AD 212) received the Roman citizenship.

All in all, the (diachronic) categorisation of the population based on juridical appurtenance is not relevant as the epigraphic evidence is truncated and points to only some slaves and freedmen, these categories being much more prone not to manifest themselves epigraphically.

⁸¹ IGB I² 22, 2 = CAPIInv. 1119.

⁸² SEG 63, 524 = Sharankov 2013, 53.

Evidence for members of the elite comes from various inscriptions; one such source is represented by the several fragmentary inscriptions attesting the imperial cult.⁸³ A sanctuary in which the imperial cult was celebrated probably existed at Dionysopolis,⁸⁴ the architectural fragments on which an inscription is recorded possibly pertaining to it.⁸⁵ Some of these inscriptions mention a ποντάρχης and other members of the elite, such as the ἄρχοντες. As ἄρχοντες we have Αὐρήλιος Θεόμνηστος son of Πυθοκλῆς and grandson of Ἰάττας, who was also part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας. Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντίπατρος son of Πάπας is mentioned as ἀρχιερεὺς on an agonistic inscription,⁸⁶ along with two priests of Dionysos, Αὐρήλιος Γλαυκίας son of Διογένης and Αὐρήλιος Δημοφῶν son of Νουμήνιος, the son of the city (υἱὸς τῆς πόλεως)⁸⁷ Αὐρήλιος Ἰάττας son of Ἀντίπατρος,⁸⁸ the ἄρχων Αὐρήλιος Θεόμνηστος son of Αὐρήλιος Πυθοκλῆς; grandson of Ἰάττας. The same inscription mentions the ἐφήβαρχος Αὐρήλιος Θεαγένης son of Κάντιος, and the former ἐφήβαρχος Αὐρήλιος Πρόκλος son of Πρόκλος, along with the names of around thirty ἔφηβοι,⁸⁹ two of whom Αὐρήλιος Γουρθιθίς and Αὐρήλιος Λαβέρις are sons of Πάπας, being probably related to the ποντάρχης Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντίπατρος son of Πάπας.⁹⁰ In the same manner, the names of other members of the elite are not explicitly mentioned, but reference is made to their belonging to a specific group, such as the βουλευταὶ, γυμνασιάρχαι, imperial ὑμνωδοί. Without being exhaustive regarding the members of the elite, as part of it we mention Ἀκορνίων son of Διονύσιος⁹¹ who due to his activity as ambassador was crowned during the *Dionysia* and received each year a gold crown, a bronze statue of him being elevated in the *agora*. But we also mention Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Δημήτριος son of Διογένης who was an ἀρχιερεὺς, ἱερεὺς, ἄρχων, γυμνασιάρχος, as well as benefactor of the city, moreover he was also ambassador in Rome during the time of Caracalla.⁹² Additionally, to the elite belonged also Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος [---]κωρος son of Ἀντίοχος, who was φιλότιμος, ἱερεὺς and γυμνασιάρχος.

⁸³ IGB V 5011 = AE 1999, 1347 = SEG 37, 607 = SEG 47, 1120 = Bottez 2009, no. 8; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007 = Bottez 2009, no. 9; IGB I² 14, 3 = IGB I² 51, 2 = Bottez 2009, no. 10; IGB I² 15, 2 = IGB V 5007 = Bottez 2009, no. 11; IGB I² 15, 3 = IGB V 5007 = Bottez 2009, no. 12; IGB I² 16 = IGB V 5008 = Bottez 2009, no. 13; IGB I² 17 = IGB V 5009 = Bottez 2009, no. 14; IGB I² 19 = Bottez 2009, no. 15; IGB I² 28 = IGB V 5011, 2 = Bottez 2009, no. 16; AE 1969–1970, 578 = Bottez 2009, no. 17.

⁸⁴ Bottez 2009, 73.

⁸⁵ IGB I² 17 = IGB V 5009 = Bottez 2009, no. 14.

⁸⁶ IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007 = Bottez 2009, no. 9.

⁸⁷ This is an honorary title attributed to members of the elite, being “for the Greek cities a diplomatic and clever way to publicly recognize and reward the political and financial services of a prominent politician without showing any sign of servility towards him” (Giannakopoulos 2008, 266). See Canali de Rossi 2007, especially 15–37, 117–144; Giannakopoulos 2008; Heller 2020, 164–174. On the western shore of the Black Sea the title is attested very sparsely: besides Dionysopolis only at Tomis, Callatis and Odessus (see Canali de Rossi 2007, 98–101). As formulated by A. Heller for Ionia, such sparseness might be explained through the fact that “cette conception du devoir civique paraît naturelle et n’a pas besoin d’être ainsi mise en évidence” (Heller 2020, 173).

⁸⁸ Canali de Rossi 2007, 98–99, no. 65.

⁸⁹ See, Dana, Dana 2013, 277–305.

⁹⁰ Bottez 2009, 109.

⁹¹ IGB I² 13.

⁹² Dana 2011, 32.

Conclusions

To conclude, the information we have on the population of Dionysopolis is rather scarce, which is certainly influenced by the overlapping of the modern city on the ancient city, but also on the smaller size and importance of the city. The available evidence is biased, the personal information (e.g. age at death, occupation, geographical origin, networks outside the family circle) is very limited, but it does point to the fact that at Dionysopolis as well, the persons more prone to leave traces of their existence were men. The associative inscriptions record a high number of individuals who are interconnected between associations, but they also point to the large-scale family involvement inside associations – phenomenon specific for other Greek cities as well (e.g. Istros). Besides the associative inscriptions, the inscriptions elevated for or by members of the elite are as expected also representative as this is the category more prone to leave traces of its existence. This is the case of remarkable *Dionysopolitai* such as Ἀκορνίων son of Διονύσιος who received important honours on behalf of the city, or that of Μᾶρκος Αὐρήλιος Δημήτριος son of Διογένης who provided important services to the city. The trajectories of other members of the elite, such as Μᾶρκος Πομπήϊος Λούκιος, take us to more intricate personal paths, showing the dynamic of power, as well as the links that some could develop outside the city of origin. However, these examples represent the minority of cases.

Prosopographical catalogue⁹³

A

1. Αὐρήλιος Α[---]; he was maybe part of an association; *album*; 1st–3rd century AD; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14, 2; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/15839>.
2. Ἀγαθὴνωρ son of Ἐράτων (ID 125); he was part of a religious association probably devoted to Μήτηρ θεῶν Ποντία; *album*; Hellenistic; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 52 = SEG 63, 522; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/21657>.
3. Ἀγαθίων son of Ἀγάθων (ID 4); dedication of a bench for the sanctuary of Μήτηρ θεῶν Ποντία; 3rd century BC; Sharankov 20013, 38, 52 = SEG 60, 770; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/21639>.
4. Ἀγάθων; father of Ἀγαθίων (ID 3); dedication of a bench for the sanctuary of Μήτηρ θεῶν Ποντία; 3rd century BC; Sharankov 20013, 38, 52 = SEG 60, 770.
5. Ἀγήμεων; father of Μενεκρέων (ID 232); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
6. Ἀθανεων; father of Διονύσιος (ID 104); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.

⁹³ The individuals are recorded in the alphabetical order of their personal names/*cognomina*. The fragmentary or missing personal names have been recorded at the end. The catalogue consists of 433 persons. It differs from the one of the LGPN, where there are 141 and this due to the fact that the LGPN focuses on personal names, it does not include the evidence from the Latin inscriptions, neither the fragmentary names; however, it includes the names of persons from the 4th–6th centuries AD, those of persons originating from Dionysopolis but attested outside of Dionysopolis; as well as those of persons from the literary sources, from the numismatic sources and from various unpublished inscriptions. In the Romans 1 by 1 database have been inserted only those persons who were the subjects of the inscriptions; as such, often the parents (who provide the filiation) do not do not have a Romans 1 by 1 reference link.

7. Αὐρήλιος Ἀθηνόδωρος son of Οὐαλέριος (ID 263); probably the brother of Αὐρήλιος Γέρων (ID 64) and Αὐρήλιος Θεόδωρος (ID 185); he was an ἔφηβος; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22921>.
8. Αἶολος son of Δημήτριος (ID 82); he was part of a religious association probably devoted to Μήτηρ θεῶν Ποντία; *album*; Hellenistic; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 52 = SEG 63, 522; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/21654>.
9. Αἶολος; father of Φίλων (ID 325); *album*; Hellenistic; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 52 = SEG 63, 522.
10. Ἀκορνίων son of Διονύσιος (ID 105); he was probably not a member of the attested association, but he might have performed sacrifices on behalf of the association and of the city as an eponymous ἱερεὺς; he was also ambassador of Dionysopolis; honorary inscription; around 48 BC; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 13; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/5805>.
11. Ιούλιος Ἀλέξανδρος; he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4102>.
12. Αλη[---]; father of Νείκων (ID 253); *album*; 3rd century AD; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 31.
13. Ἀλκείδης son of Σιληνός (ID 305); he was part of a religious association probably devoted to Μήτηρ θεῶν Ποντία; *album*; Hellenistic; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 52 = SEG 63, 522; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/21652>.
14. Ἀνάξανδρος son of Ἡγησιάνναξ; he was from Methymna; votive inscription; 4th century BC; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 19, 2; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22940>.
15. Αὐρήλιος Ἀνδρικήων son of Δη[---] (ID 81); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4114>.
16. Ἀνδρικήων; father of Αὐρήλιος Ἡραίων (ID 154); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
17. Ἀνδρικήων; father of Μητρόδωρος (ID 238); father-in-law of Μαμασισις (ID 222); in-law of Ἑλλην (ID 123); votive inscription; 1st-2nd century AD; Dionysopolis; SEG 60, 775.
18. Ἄνδρων; father of Ἐπίκουρος (ID 124); *album*; 2nd century BC; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22.
19. [Ἄνθρ?]ωπίων son of Ἀπολλώνιος (ID 32); he was an eponymous ἱερεὺς; *album*; 3rd century BC; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 59 = SEG 60, 766; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/21662>.
20. Ἀνθρωπίων; father of Σειλανός (ID 296); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
21. Ἀνθρωπίων; father of Σειληνός (ID 301); his son was attested at Odessos; he was probably the same person as the homonymous one; votive inscription; 3rd century AD?; Dionysopolis; IGB V 5076.
22. Ἀντίοχος; father of Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος [---]κωρος (ID 339); honorary inscription; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 15, 2.
23. Φλαοῦιος Ἀντίπατρος; he was an ἔφηβος; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22930>.
24. Ἀντίπατρος; father of Αὐρήλιος Ἄττας (ID 44); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007.
25. Αὐρήλιος Ἀντίπατρος? son of Ἀρίστων (ID 38); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4077>.
26. Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντίπατρος son of Πάπας (ID 265); he was possibly the brother of Αὐρήλιος Γουρθιθις (ID 76) son of Πάπας (ID 266) and Αὐρήλιος Λαβέρης (ID 215) son of Πάπας (ID

- 266); he was an ἀρχιερέυς and ποντάρχης; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22903>.
27. Αὐρήλιος Ἀντίπατρος son of Σουπερίων (ID 309); he was an ἔφηβος; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22932>.
28. Ἀντίχαρος; father of [---]ων (ID 354); *album*; 3rd century AD; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 31.
29. Ἀπατούριος son of Ἀπολλώνιος; he was a citizen of Odessos; decree; 2nd century BC; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 62 = SEG 60, 758; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/21667>.
30. Αὐρήλιος Ἀπήμων son of Νεικίος? (ID 251); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4081>.
31. Ἀπήμων son of Νίκιος (ID 256); he might have been an eponymous magistrate; *album*; 2nd century BC; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22953>.
32. Ἀπολλώνιος; father of [Ἄνθρ?]ωπίων (ID 19); *album*; 3rd century BC; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 59 = SEG 60, 766.
33. Ἀπολλώνιος son of Δημοφῶν (ID 91); he is attested by two inscriptions; he was a ἱερώμενος in an association devoted to Dionysos (Βακχεασταὶ τῶν περὶ Ἑράτων); two votive inscriptions; 3rd century BC; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 20 = Jaccottet 2003 II, 106–107, no. 52; Sharankov 2013, 50 = SEG 60, 773; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4028>.
34. Ἀπφία daughter of Φαν[---] (ID 318); unreadable relationship with Δημήτριος (ID 83); funerary inscription; Imperial period; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 28 = IGB V 5011, 2; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/15852>.
35. Ἄφρος?; father of Αὐρήλιος Πάππος (ID 270); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
36. Ἀριστομένης son of Διονύσιος; he was from Odessus; proxeny was granted to him. He was granted the usual honours in such cases; decree; 4th–3rd century BC; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 13, 2; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/23049>.
37. Αὐρήλιος Ἀριστομένης son of *ignotus* (ID 357); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4112>.
38. Ἀρίστων; father of Αὐρήλιος Ἀντίπατρος? (ID 25); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
39. Ἀρτεμίδωρος son of *ignotus* (ID 420) and Φίλι[---] (ID 322); brother of Σωφροσύνη (ID 313); funerary inscription; unknown dating; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 28, 2 = IGB V 5011, 3; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/15856>.
40. Ἀσιανός; father of Αὐρήλιος Εὐτύχης (ID 140); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007.
41. Ἀσκληπιάδης; father of Αὐρήλιος Γέρων (ID 62); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
42. Αὐρήλιος Ἀσκληπι[ιάδης?] son of [M]ἄρκος (ID 227); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4079>.
43. Αὐρήλιος Ἀσκληπιάδης son of *ignotus* (ID 358); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4118>.
44. Αὐρήλιος Ἄττας son of Ἀντίπατρος (ID 24); he was named son of the city; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22906>.

45. Ἄττας son of Διόδωρος (ID 101); he was part of a religious association probably devoted to Μήτηρ θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; Hellenistic; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 52 = SEG 63, 522; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/21656>.
46. Ἄττας; father of Αὐρήλιος Ἡρακλέων (ID 163) and probably Πυθοκλῆς (ID 288); grandfather of Αὐρήλιος Θεόμνηστος (ID 189); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
47. Ἄττας; father of Αὐρήλιος Ποσειδώνιος (ID 280); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007.
48. Αὐλούζενις; father of Ζεῖβας (ID 142); decree; 12 BC-AD 12; Dionysopolis; SEG 60, 764 = Sharankov 2013, 60, 64.
49. Αὐλούπορις; father of Μουκάπορις (ID 245); decree; 12 BC-AD 12; Dionysopolis; SEG 60, 763 = Sharankov 2013, 63–64.
50. Αὐρήλιος Αὐδασιανός son of Φιλόξηνος (ID 324); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; he might have been the brother of Αὐρήλιος Γλαῦκος (ID 71) son of Φιλόξηνος (ID 324); Κορτιανός (ID 210) son of Φιλόξηνος (ID 324); and Αὐρήλιος Νουμήνης (ID 257) son of Φιλόξηνος (ID 324); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4099>.
51. Αὐρήλιος; father of Αὐρήλιος (ID 52); dedication of an association to the emperor Gordian III and Sabinia Tranquillina; AD 241–244; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22, 2.
52. Αὐρήλιος son of Αὐρήλιος (ID 51); he was part of a religious association probably devoted to Μήτηρ θεῶν Ποντίας; dedication of an association to the emperor Gordian III and Sabinia Tranquillina; AD 241–244; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22, 2; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4034>.
53. Αὐρήλιος Αὐτοκράτης son of Σωσίπατρος (ID 312); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4071>.

B

54. B[---]; father of Αὐρήλιος Φανερός (ID 319); unspecified relationship with Αὐρήλιος Θεόδωρος (ID 187) son of Πολύξενος (ID 277) and Αὐρήλιος Γλαῦκος (ID 70) son of Φανερός (ID 320); funerary inscription; 3rd century AD; Dionysopolis; AE 2004, 1286 = SEG 54, 661, 2.
55. Βακης; father of Αὐρήλιος Δαλήτραλις (ID 80); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
56. Βακχ[---]; father of [---]ο[έ]νης (ID 342); *album*; 3rd century BC; Dionysopolis; SEG 60, 766 = Sharankov 2013, 59.
57. Βαλεριανός; father of Αὐρήλιος Βίκτωρ (ID 59); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007.
58. Αὐρήλιος Βιάτωρ son of Μακεδών (ID 221); he was an ἔφηβος; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22918>.
59. Αὐρήλιος Βίκτωρ son of Βαλεριανός (ID 57); he was an ἔφηβος; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22929>.
60. Λούκιος Οὐαλέριος Βίκτωρ; former ἱερεὺς and former ἀγωνοθέτης; dedication; 1st-2nd century AD; SEG 59, 734; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22886>.

Γ

61. Γερμανός; father of Αὐρήλιος Κλαύδιος (ID 204); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007.

62. Αὐρήλιος Γέρων son of Ἀσκληπιάδης (ID 41); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4058>.
63. Αὐρήλιος Γέρων son of Ἡρακλείδης (ID 155); he was an ἔφηβος; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22917>.
64. Αὐρήλιος Γέρων son of Οὐαλέριος (ID 263); probably the brother of Αὐρήλιος Θεόδωρος (ID 185) and Αὐρήλιος Ἀθηνόδωρος (ID 7); he was an ἔφηβος; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22912>.
65. Γέρων; father of [---]σκος (ID 351); *album*; 3rd century BC; Dionysopolis; SEG 60, 766 = Sharankov 2013, 59.
66. Αὐρήλιος [---]κίας son of Γλαῦκος (ID 73); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4115>.
67. Αὐρήλιος Γλαυκίας son of Διογένης (ID 98); priest of Dionysos; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22904>.
68. Αὐρήλιος Γλαῦκος son of Μητρόδωρος (ID 239); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4093>.
69. Αὐρήλιος Γλαῦκος son of Σειλανός (ID 297); he was probably the brother of Αὐρήλιος Ἡρακλείδης (ID 160) son of Σειλανός (ID 297); Αὐρήλιος Ροῦφος (ID 292) son of Σειλανός (ID 297); Αὐρήλιος Σειλανός (ID 298) son of Σειλανός (ID 297); Αὐρήλιος Σειλανός (ID 299) son of Σειλανός (ID 297); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4083>.
70. Αὐρήλιος Γλαῦκος son of Φανερός (ID 320); unspecified relationship with Αὐρήλιος Φανερός (ID 319) and Αὐρήλιος Θεόδωρος (ID 187); funerary inscription; 3rd century AD; Dionysopolis; AE 2004, 1286 = SEG 54, 661 2; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/15568>.
71. Αὐρήλιος Γλαῦκος son of Φιλόξηνος (ID 324); he might have been the brother of Αὐρήλιος Αὐδασιανός (ID 50) son of Φιλόξηνος (ID 324); Κορτιανός (ID 210) son of Φιλόξηνος (ID 324); and Αὐρήλιος Νουμήνης (ID 257) son of Φιλόξηνος (ID 324); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4084>.
72. Γλαῦκος; father of *ignotus* (ID 359); *album*; 1st–3rd century AD; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14, 2.
73. Γλαῦκος; father of Αὐρήλιος [---]κίας (ID 66); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
74. Αὐρήλιος Γλύκων son of Θειπης (ID 177); brother of Αὐρήλιος Κλαύδιος (ID 205); he was an ἔφηβος; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22919>.
75. Γλυκωνιανός?; father of Αὐρήλιος Ὀλυμπικός (ID 262); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
76. Αὐρήλιος Γουρθιθις son of Πάπας (ID 263); he was possibly the brother of Αὐρήλιος Λαβέρις (ID 213) and possibly of the ποντάρχης Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντίπατρος (ID 26) son of Πάπας (ID 262); he was an ἔφηβος; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22933>.
77. Γυκέρα; wife of Ταῦρις (ID 314); mother of Καλλικράτης (ID 199); votive inscription; 3rd century BC; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 21; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22942>.

Δ

78. Δάδας; father of Αὐρήλιος Ἡφ[---] (ID 169); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
79. Δάδας?; father of Αὐρήλιος Διονυσόδωρος (ID 113) and probably Αὐρήλιος Δίων (ID 121); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
80. Αὐρήλιος Δαλήτραλις son of Βακης (ID 55); he was φιλότιμος of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4054>.
81. Δη[---]; father of Αὐρήλιος Ἀνδρικίων (ID 15); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
82. Δημήτριος; father of Αἴολος (8); *album*; Hellenistic; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 52 = SEG 63, 522.
83. Δημήτριος; unreadable relationship with Ἀπφία (ID 34); funerary inscription; Imperial period; IGB I² 28 = IGB V 5011, 2; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/15853>.
84. Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Δημήτριος son of Διογένης (ID 99); he was ἀρχιερεύς, ἱερεύς, ἄρχων, γυμνασίαρχος, as well as benefactor of the city; honorary inscription; after AD 217; IGB I² 16 = IGB V 5008; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/15847>.
85. Δημήτριος; father of Διονύσιος (ID 106); *album*; 3rd century AD; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 31.
86. Δημήτριος; father of Θεόδωρος (ID 181); honorary; AD 218–222; IGB I² 17 = IGB V 5009.
87. Αὐρήλιος Δημήτριος son of [---]νάνδρος (ID 340); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4063>.
88. Δημήτριος; father of *ignotus* (ID 360); *album*; 2nd century BC; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22.
89. Δημοσθένης; he was Νικομηδεύς; he was part of the association of Ἀθηνεαστής; votive inscription; 2nd–3rd century AD; SEG 60, 778 = Sharankov 2013, 42, 52, 59; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4047>.
90. Δημόφιλος; father of Ἐράτων (ID 126); votive inscription; 3rd century BC; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 20 = Jaccottet 2003 II, 106–107, no. 52.
91. Δημοφῶν; father of Ἀπολλώνιος (ID 33); two votive inscriptions; 3rd century BC; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 20 = Jaccottet 2003 II, 106–107, no. 52; Sharankov 2013, 50 = SEG 60, 773.
92. Δημοφῶν son of Μῦς; ἱερώμενος διὰ βίου of the Μήτηρ θεῶν Ποντία; he was related to a [Μῦς] son of Δημοφῶν (ID 246); <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/21658>.
93. Αὐρήλιος Δημοφῶν son of Νουμήνιος (ID 259); priest of Dionysos; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22905>.
94. Δημοχάρης; father of Ροδοκλεία (ID 291); funerary inscription; 3rd century BC; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 27.
95. Αὐρήλιος Διδυμᾶς son of Ὑλῆς (ID 152); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4091>.
96. Διδυμᾶς; father of Αὐρήλιος Κεραίων (ID 203); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
97. Δίδων; father of Λεστορμη (ID 217); father-in-law of Σουσᾶς (ID 310); funerary inscription; Imperial period; IGB I² 27, 2 = IGB V 5011, 2.
98. Διογένης; father of Αὐρήλιος Γλαυκίας (ID 67); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007.
99. Διογένης; father of Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Δημήτριος (ID 84); honorary inscription; after AD 217; IGB I² 16 = IGB V 5008.

100. Διογένης son of Θαΐς (ID 170); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4104>.
101. Διόδωρος; father of Ἄττας (ID 45); *album*; Hellenistic; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 52 = SEG 63, 522.
102. Διόδωρος son of Μῆνις (ID 235); he makes a significant donation to the Pontic Mother of Gods (vineyards, three workshops at the wood market, together with the rooms on the upper floor. Following his generosity, he was supposed to be crowned for life at the main public festival of the Pontic Mother of Gods; endowment; 300–250 BC; Dionysopolis; SEG 60, 765 = Sharankov 2013, 50, 53; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/21647>.
103. Αὐρήλιος Διοκλῆς son of Ἡρακλέων (ID 164); he might have been the brother of Ἡρακλέων (ID 166) son of Ἡρακλέων (ID 164); Αὐρήλιος Ἡρακλέων (ID 165) son of Ἡρακλέων (ID 164); Αὐρήλιος Θεόδωρος (ID 183) son of Ἡρακλέων (ID 164); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4088>.
104. Διονύσιος son of Ἀθανεων (ID 6); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4107>.
105. Διονύσιος son of Ἀκορνίων; father of Ἀκορνίων (ID 10); decree; 2nd–1st century BC; Dionysopolis; SEG 60, 761 = Sharankov 2013, 60–61; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/21671>.
106. Διονύσιος son of Δημήτριος (ID 85); *album*; 3rd century AD; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 31; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/15862>.
107. Διονύσιος son of Διονύσιος; he was from Callatis; proxeny was granted to him. He was granted the usual honours in such cases; decree; 3rd century BC; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 13, 3; <http://epdb.romans1by1.com/rpeople/23050>.
108. Διονύσιος; father of Αὐρήλιος Διοσκουρίδης (ID 118); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
109. Αὐρήλιος Διονύσιος son of Ἑρμῖππος (ID 129); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4074>.
110. Διονύσιος; father of Σκύθης (ID 307); grandfather of Μηνόδοτος (ID 237); dedication; 2nd century BC; Dionysopolis; SEG 60, 772 = Sharankov 2013, 52.
111. Διονύσιος; father of Τρύφων (ID 315); *album*; 2nd century BC; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22.
112. Διονύσιππος? son of Ζενόδοτος (ID 143); father of Αὐρήλιος Ἡρακλείδης (ID 156); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4070>.
113. Αὐρήλιος Διονυσόδωρος son of Δάδας? (ID 79); he might have been the brother of Αὐρήλιος Δίων (ID 121) son of Δάδας (ID 79); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4090>.
114. Αὐρήλιος Διονυσόδωρος son of Ζήνων (ID 144); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4055>.
115. Αὐρήλιος Διονυσόδωρος son of Σειγηρός (ID 295); he was an ἔφηβος; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22923>.
116. Αὐρήλιος Διονυσόδωρος; he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4061>.

117. Διονυσόδωρος son of *ignotus* (ID 361); he was part of a religious association probably devoted to Μήτηρ θεῶν Ποντίας; dedication of an association to the emperor Gordian III and Sabinia Tranquillina; AD 241–244; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22(2); <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4033>.
118. Αὐρήλιος Διοσκουρίδης son of Διονύσιος (ID 108); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4067>.
119. Διοσκουρίδης; father of Αὐρήλιος Θεόδωρος (ID 182); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
120. Διοσκουρίδης; father of Μενεκράτης (ID 230); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
121. Αὐρήλιος Δίων son of Δάδας (ID 79) he might have been the brother of Αὐρήλιος Διονυσόδωρος (ID 113) son of Δάδας? (ID 79); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4111>.
122. Δρεῖβαλος; father of Αὐρήλιος Οὐίκτωρ (ID 264); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007.

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123. Ἑλλην; father of Μαμασισίς (ID 222); father-in-law of Μητρόδωρος (ID 238); in-law of Ἀνδρικήων (ID 17); votive inscription; 1st–2nd century AD; Dionysopolis; SEG 60, 775.
124. Ἐπίκουρος son of Ἄνδρων (ID 18); he might have been an eponymous magistrate; *album*; 2nd century BC; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22952>.
125. Ἐράτων; father of Ἀγαθίνωρ (ID 2); *album*; Hellenistic; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 52 = SEG 63, 522.
126. Ἐράτων son of Δημόφιλος (ID 90); he was either the founder, or the leader of an association devoted to Dionysos (Βακχεασταὶ τῶν περὶ Ἐράτων); votive inscription; 3rd century BC; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 20 = Jaccottet 2003 II, 106–107, no. 52; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4029>.
127. Ἐρμάφιλος Κυζικηνός; funerary inscription; 4th–3rd century BC; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 25 = IGB V 5011, 2; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22902>.
128. Αὐρήλιος Ἐρμῆς; he was εἰαιρόδ[ου]λος Μητρὸς θεᾶς Ποντία[ς], αὐλητής and member in two associations, the Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523 and the Ἄττεις οἱ κὲ Ἀτιαστὲ εἰαιρόδουλοι Μη[τρ]ὸς θεᾶς Ποντίας; *album*; AD 215–235; Dionysopolis; SEG 60, 768 = Sharankov 2013, 57–58; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4048>.
129. Ἐρμιππος; father of Αὐρήλιος Διονύσιος (ID 109); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
130. Ἐρμιππος; father of Αὐρήλιος Θεογένης (ID 179); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
131. Ἐρμιππος; father of *ignotus* (ID 362); *album*; 3rd century BC; Dionysopolis; SEG 60, 766 = Sharankov 2013, 59.
132. Ἐρμόδωρος; father of Αὐρήλιος Ἥλις? (ID 151); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
133. Αὐρήλιος Ἐρμόδωρος son of Λούκιος (ID 219); he was an ἔφηβος; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22937>.
134. Αὐρήλιος Ἐστιαῖος son of Θαῆς (ID 171); he was an ἔφηβος; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22927>.

135. Ἑστιαῖος; father of Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Κουρη<ς> (ID 212); votive inscription; AD 222–235; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 23; *album*; AD 215–235; Dionysopolis; SEG 60, 768 = Sharankov 2013, 57–58.
136. Ἑστιαῖος; father of Αὐρήλιος Πυθοκλῆς (ID 289); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007.
137. Ἑστιαῖος son of Πόσις (ID 283); he was ἱερώμενος διὰ βίου of Ποσειδῶν Ἀσφαλεύς; he makes the dedication on behalf of the *demos*; votive inscription; 3rd–2nd century BC; Dionysopolis; SEG 60, 771 = Sharankov 2013, 44, 58; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/21640>.
138. Αὐρήλιος Εὐάγριος son of Κούρης (ID 213); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4100>.
139. Εὐκλ[---]; father of Μῆνις (ID 236); dedication; Hellenistic period; Sharankov 2013, 52.
140. Αὐρήλιος Εὐτύχης son of Ἀσιανός (ID 40); he was an ἔφηβος; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22939>.

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141. Ζ[---]; father of Ηλῖς (ID 153); dedication of an association to the emperor Gordian III and Sabinia Tranquillina; AD 241–244; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22, 2.
142. Ζεῖβας son of Αὐλούζενις (ID 48); he was probably a strategos of king Rhoemetaces I (Sharankov 2013, 64). Various privileges were given to him; decree; 12 BC–AD 12; Dionysopolis; SEG 60, 764 = Sharankov 2013, 60, 64; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/21664>.
143. Ζενόδοτος; father of Διονύσιππος? (ID 112); grandfather of Αὐρήλιος Ἡρακλείδης (ID 156); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
144. Ζήνων; father of Αὐρήλιος Διονυσόδωρος (ID 114); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
145. Ζήνων son of Ζήνων; he was a Τύριος; dedication; Hellenistic period; SEG 60, 774 = Sharankov 2013, 31, 52; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/21638>.
146. Αὐρήλιος Ζήνων son of Ζουκης (ID 150); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4064>.
147. Αὐρήλιος Ζήνων; he was an ἔφηβος; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22924>.
148. Ζουκη daughter of Ἡρακλείδης (ID 155); she was ἱέρεια of the goddess Μήτηρ θεῶν Ποντίας; votive inscription; 1st–2nd century AD; Dionysopolis; SEG 60, 776 = Sharankov 2013, 38, 50–51; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/17168>.
149. Ζουκηγεσκος; she was a slave and was given to the sanctuary of the Mother of Gods, along with the children that she was going to give birth to; unknown type of inscription; 1st century AD; SEG 63, 524 = Sharankov 2013, 53; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/21406>.
150. Ζουκης; father of Αὐρήλιος Ζήνων (ID 146); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.

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151. Αὐρήλιος Ἥλῖς? son of Ἑρμόδωρος (ID 132); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4092>.
152. Ηλῖς; father of Αὐρήλιος Διδυμᾶς (ID 95); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.

153. Ηλίας son of Ζ[---] (ID 141); he was part of a religious association probably devoted to Μητήρ θεῶν Ποντίας; dedication of an association to the emperor Gordian III and Sabinia Tranquillina; AD 241–244; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22, 2; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4032>.
154. Αὐρήλιος Ἡραίων son of Ἀνδρικήων (ID 16); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4066>.
155. Ἡρακλείδης; father of Αὐρήλιος Γέρων (ID 63); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007.
156. Αὐρήλιος Ἡρακλείδης son of Διονύσιππος? (ID 112); grandson of Ζενόδοτος (ID 143); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4069>.
157. Ἡρακλείδης; father of Ζουκή (ID 146); votive inscription; 1st–2nd century AD; Dionysopolis; SEG 60, 776 = Sharankov 2013, 38, 50–51.
158. Αὐρήλιος Ἡρακλείδης son of Θιάης (ID 191); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4095>.
159. Αὐρήλιος Ἡρακλείδης son of Σατορνίλος (ID 294); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4094>.
160. Αὐρήλιος Ἡρακλείδης son of Σειλανός (ID 297); he was probably the brother of Αὐρήλιος Γλαῦκος (ID 69) son of Σειλανός (ID 297); Αὐρήλιος Ροῦφος (ID 292) son of Σειλανός (ID 297); Αὐρήλιος Σειλανός (ID 298) son of Σειλανός (ID 297); Αὐρήλιος Σειλανός (ID 299) son of Σειλανός (ID 297); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4082>.
161. Ἡρακλείδης; father of *ignotus* (ID 363); *album*; 2nd century BC; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22.
162. Ἡρακλειδί[---]; father of Αὐρήλιος Μητρόδωρος (ID 240); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
163. Αὐρήλιος Ἡρακλέων son of Ἄττας (ID 46); he might have been the brother of Πυθοκλῆς (ID 288) son of Ἄττας (ID 46); he might have been the uncle of Αὐρήλιος Θεόμνηστος (ID 187); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4097>.
164. Ἡρακλέων; father of Αὐρήλιος Διοκλῆς (ID 103) and probably Ἡρακλέων (ID 166); Αὐρήλιος Ἡρακλέων (ID 165); Αὐρήλιος Θεόδωρος (ID 183); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
165. Αὐρήλιος Ἡρακλέων son of Ἡρακλέων (ID 164); he might have been the brother of Αὐρήλιος Διοκλῆς (ID 103) son of Ἡρακλέων (ID 164); Ἡρακλέων (ID 166) son of Ἡρακλέων (ID 164); Αὐρήλιος Θεόδωρος (ID 183) son of Ἡρακλέων (ID 164); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4056>.
166. Ἡρακλέων son of Ἡρακλέων (ID 164); he might have been the brother of Αὐρήλιος Διοκλῆς (ID 103) son of Ἡρακλέων (ID 164); Αὐρήλιος Ἡρακλέων (ID 165) son of Ἡρακλέων (ID 164); Αὐρήλιος Θεόδωρος (ID 183) son of Ἡρακλέων (ID 164); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4110>.

167. Ἡρων; father of Χρύσιππος (ID 327); *album*; 3rd century AD; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 31.
 168. Ἡφαιστόδ[ημος?]; father of Αὐρήλιος Μαρκιανός (ID 224); dedication of an association to the emperor Gordian III and Sabinia Tranquillina; AD 241–244; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22, 2.
 169. Αὐρήλιος Ἡφ[---] son of Δάδας (ID 78); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4075>.

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170. Θαῆς; father of Διογένης (ID 100); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
 171. Θαῆς; father of Αὐρήλιος Ἑστιαῖος (ID 134); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007.
 172. Αὐρήλιος Θεαγένης son of Κάντιος (ID 201); he was an ἐφήβαρχος; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22907>.
 173. Αὐρήλιος Θεαγένης son of Μενεκρέων (ID 233); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4062>.
 174. Θεαγένης son of Μόσχιον (ID 243); he was ἱερεύς of Διονύσος; votive inscription; 1st–2nd century AD; SEG 60, 776 = Sharankov 38, 59–51; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/17169>.
 175. Θεαγένης; father of Αὐρήλιος Ποσιδώνιος (ID 282); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
 176. Θεαγένης; father of Αὐρήλιος Πρόκλος (ID 284); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007.
 177. Θειπης; father of Αὐρήλιος Γλύκων (ID 74) and Αὐρήλιος Κλαύδιος (ID 205); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007.
 178. Θεογένης son of Θεόπομπος (ID 190); he was part of a religious association probably devoted to Μήτηρ θεῶν Ποντία; *album*; Hellenistic; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 52 = SEG 63, 522; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/21655>.
 179. Αὐρήλιος Θεογένης son of Ἑρμιππος (ID 130); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4086>.
 180. Αὐρήλιος Θεο[---] son of *ignotus* (ID 364); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4120>.
 181. Θεόδωρος son of Δημήτριος (ID 86); he was φιλότιμος, εὐεργέτης of the Ὑμνωδοὶ νεώτεροι; honorary; AD 218–222; IGB I² 17 = IGB V 5009; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/15848>.
 182. Αὐρήλιος Θεόδωρος son of Διοσκουρίδης (ID 119); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4060>.
 183. Αὐρήλιος Θεόδωρος son of Ἡρακλέων (ID 164); he might have been the brother of Αὐρήλιος Διοκλῆς (ID 103) son of Ἡρακλέων (ID 164); Ἡρακλέων (ID 166) son of Ἡρακλέων (ID 164); Αὐρήλιος Ἡρακλέων (ID 165) son of Ἡρακλέων (ID 162); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4059>.
 184. Αὐρήλιος Θεόδωρος son of Μοσχίων (ID 244); he was an ἔφηβος; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22909>.

185. Αὐρήλιος Θεόδωρος son of Οὐαλέριος (ID 263); probably the brother of Αὐρήλιος Γέρων (ID 64) and Αὐρήλιος Ἀθηνόδωρος (ID 7); he was an ἔφηβος; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22916>.
186. Θεόδωρος; father of Αὐρήλιος Πάπας (ID 267); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
187. Αὐρήλιος Θεόδωρος son of Πολύξενος (ID 277); unspecified relationship with Αὐρήλιος Γλαῦκος (ID 70) son of Φανερός (ID 320) and Αὐρήλιος Φανερός (ID 319); funerary inscription; 3rd century AD; Dionysopolis; AE 2004, 1286 = SEG 54, 661, 2; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/15570>.
188. Αὐρήλιος Θεομένης? son of Μαρκιανός (ID 225); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4087>.
189. Αὐρήλιος Θεόμνηστος son of Πυθοκλῆς (ID 288); grandson of Ἄττας (ID 46); he might have been the nephew of Αὐρήλιος Ἡρακλέων (ID 163) son of Ἄττας (ID 46); he was an ἄρχων; he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; two *alba*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; IGB I² 14; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4053>.
190. Θεόπομπος; father of Θεογένης (ID 178); *album*; Hellenistic; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 52 = SEG 63, 522.
191. Θιάης; father of Αὐρήλιος Ἡρακλείδης (ID 158); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.

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192. Αὐρήλιος Ἰκέσιος son of Καλλικράτης (ID 197); he was an ἔφηβος; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22934>.
193. Αὐρήλιος Ἰουβεντιός? son of Μητρόδωρος (ID 241); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4113>.
194. Ἰούλιος; father of Αὐρήλιος Κλαύδιος (ID 206); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
195. Ἰούλιος father of Αὐρήλιος Μουκιανός (ID 247); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007.
196. Ἰσίδω[ρος?] son of *ignotus* (ID 365); he was part of a religious association probably devoted to Μήτηρ θεῶν Ποντία; dedication of an association to the emperor Gordian III and Sabinia Tranquillina; AD 241–244; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22, 2; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4035>.

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197. Καλλικράτης; father of Αὐρήλιος Ἰκέσιος (ID 192); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007.
198. Αὐρήλιος Καλλικράτης son of N[---] (ID 249); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4078>.
199. Καλλικράτης son of Ταῦρις (ID 314) and Γυκέρα (ID 77); votive inscription; 3rd century BC; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 21; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22941>.
200. Καλόκα<ι>ρος son of Σπε[---] (ID 311); he was part of a religious association probably devoted to Μήτηρ θεῶν Ποντία; dedication of an association to the emperor Gordian III and Sabinia Tranquillina; AD 241–244; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22, 2; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4036>.

201. Κάντιος; father of Αὐρήλιος Θεαγένης (ID 172); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007.
202. Αὐρήλιος Κεκιλιανός; votive inscription; 1st-3rd century AD; IGB V 5012; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/16999>.
203. Αὐρήλιος Κεραίων son of Διδυμάς (ID 96); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4073>.
204. Αὐρήλιος Κλαύδιος son of Γερμανος (ID 61); he was an ἔφηβος; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22938>.
205. Αὐρήλιος Κλαύδιος son of Θειπης (ID 177); brother of Αὐρήλιος Γλύκων (ID 74); he was an ἔφηβος; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22922>.
206. Αὐρήλιος Κλαύδιος son of Ιούλιος (ID 194); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4057>.
207. Αὐρήλιος Κοκκέϊος; he was maybe part of an association; *album*; 1st-3rd century AD; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14, 2; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/15846>.
208. Κοκκέϊος; father of [---]ς (ID 350); *album*; 1st-3rd century AD; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14, 2.
209. Κοκκέϊος; father of *ignotus* (ID 366) and probably *ignotus* (ID 367); *album*; 1st-3rd century AD; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14, 2.
210. Κορτιανός son of Φιλόξηνος (ID 324); he might have been the brother of Αὐρήλιος Γλαῦκος (ID 71) son of Φιλόξηνος (ID 324); Αὐρήλιος Αὐδασιανός (ID 50) son of Φιλόξηνος (ID 324); and Αὐρήλιος Νουμήνης (ID 257) son of Φιλόξηνος (ID 324); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4106>.
211. Κούαρτος; he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4101>.
212. Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Κουρη<ς> son of Ἑστιαῖος (ID 135); he was a ἱερονόμος of the Ἀσιανῶν σπεῖρα πρεσβ(υτέρων?); he was also ἱερεὺς of the Ἄττεις οἱ κὲ Ἀτιαστὲ εἰαιρόδουλοι Μη[τρ]ὸς θεᾶς Ποντίας; and the first ἄρχων of the city in an unpublished ephebic list (Sharankov); votive inscription; AD 222–235; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 23; *album*; AD 215–235; Dionysopolis; SEG 60, 768 = Sharankov 2013, 57–58; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4046>.
213. Κούρης; father of Αὐρήλιος Εὐάγριος (ID 138); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
214. Ιούλιος Κρήσκης; votive inscription; 1st-3rd century AD; IGB I² 24; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/15849>.

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215. Αὐρήλιος Λαβέρις son of Πάπας (ID 266); he was possibly the brother of Αὐρήλιος Γουρθιθις (ID 76) and possibly of the ποντάρχης Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντίπατρος (ID 26) son of Παπᾶς (ID 265); he was an ἔφηβος; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22936>.
216. Λάμυρ[ος?]; father of [---]θις (ID 336); dedication of an association to the emperor Gordian III and Sabinia Tranquillina; AD 241–244; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22(2).
217. Λεστορμη daughter of Δίζδων (ID 97); wife of Σουσᾶς (ID 310); funerary inscription; Imperial period; IGB I² 27, 2 = IGB V 5011, 2; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/15850>.

218. Μάρκος Πομπήϊος Λούκιος; he was a βουλευτής of Dionysopolis, Callatis, Marcianopolis as well as a *beneficiarius consularis* of the *Legio I Italica Antoniniana*. He was probably granted the position of βουλευτής due to his contribution in the war from AD 214; honorary inscription; 3rd century AD; Dionysopolis; AE 1972, 505 = IGB I² 24, 2; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/14647>.
219. Λούκιος; father of Αὐρήλιος Ἑρμόδωρος (ID 133); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007.
220. Λυσίμαχος son of Σεραπίων (ID 303); votive inscription; Imperial period; SEG 60, 779 = Sharankov 2013, 53; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/17180>.

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221. Μακεδών; father of Αὐρήλιος Βιάτωρ (ID 58); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007.
222. Μαμασις daughter of Ἑλλην (ID 123); she was ἱέρεια of the Μήτηρ θεῶν Ποντίας; wife of Μητρόδωρος (ID 238); daughter-in-law of Ἀνδρικήων (ID 17); votive inscription; 1st–2nd century AD; Dionysopolis; SEG 60, 775; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/17166>.
223. Μάξιμος; father of Αὐρήλιος Σουλπίκιος (ID 308); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007.
224. Αὐρήλιος Μαρκιανός son of Ἡφαιστόδ[ημος?] (ID 168); he was part of a religious association probably devoted to Μήτηρ θεῶν Ποντίας; dedication of an association to the emperor Gordian III and Sabinia Tranquillina; AD 241–244; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22(2); <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4039>.
225. Μαρκιανός; father of Αὐρήλιος Θεομένης? (ID 188); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
226. Αὐρήλιος Μαρκιανός son of *ignotus* (ID 369); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4119>.
227. [Μ]ᾶρκος; father of Αὐρήλιος Ἀσκληπ[ιάδης?] (ID 42); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
228. Μεγακρέων; father of Σιληνός (ID 306); Hellenistic; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 52 = SEG 63, 522.
229. Μελ[---]; father of Νεικηφόρος (ID 250); dedication of an association to the emperor Gordian III and Sabinia Tranquillina; AD 241–244; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22(2).
230. Μενεκράτης son of Διοσκουρίδης (ID 120); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4109>.
231. Αὐρήλιος Μενεκράτης son of Πολύξενος (ID 279); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4096>.
232. Μενεκρέων son of Ἀγήμων (ID 5); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4103>.
233. Μενεκρέων; father of Αὐρήλιος Θεαγέννης (ID 173); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
234. Αὐρήλιος Μερκούριος son of Ῥώλης (ID 293); he was an ἔφηβος; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22931>.
235. Μήνις; father of Διόδωρος (ID 102); endowment; 300–250 BC; Dionysopolis; SEG 60, 765 = Sharankov 2013, 50, 53.

236. Μήνις son of Εὐκλ[---] (ID 139); dedication; Hellenistic period; Sharankov 2013, 52; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/21648>.
237. Μηνόδοτος son of Σκύθης (ID 307); grandson of Διονύσιος (ID 110); dedication; 2nd century BC; Dionysopolis; SEG 60, 772 = Sharankov 2013, 52; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/21649>.
238. Μητρόδωρος son of Ἀνδρικίων (ID 17); husband of Μαμασις (ID 222); son-in-law of Ἑλλην (ID 123); votive inscription; 1st–2nd century AD; Dionysopolis; SEG 60, 775; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/17167>.
239. Μητρόδωρος; father of Αὐρήλιος Γλαῦκος (ID 68); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
240. Αὐρήλιος Μητρόδωρος son of Ἡρακλειδί[---] (ID 162); he was part of the association of Νεομνηστᾶι Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4065>.
241. Μητρόδωρος; father of Αὐρήλιος Ἰουβεντιός? (ID 193); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
242. Μητρόδωρος son of *ignotus* (ID 370); he was part of the association of Νεομνηστᾶι Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4108>.
243. Μόσχιον; father of Θεαγένης (ID 174); votive inscription; 1st–2nd century AD; SEG 60, 776 = Sharankov 38, 59–51.
244. Μοσχίων; father of Αὐρήλιος Θεόδωρος (ID 184); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007.
245. Μουκάπορις son of Αὐλούπορις (ID 49); he was strategos of the king Rhoemetalces I in Apsiuropolis (Axiopolis) and the strategia Daotike. The individual helped the “Dionysopolitans in numerous ways and organised sumptuous processions and sacrifices in the city, held a victorious military campaign beyond the Danube, against the common enemy, the Iazyges” (Sharankov 2013, 63–64); decree; 12 BC – AD 12; Dionysopolis; SEG 60, 763 = Sharankov 2013, 63–64; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/21668>.
246. Μουκι[---] son of *ignotus* (ID 371); he was maybe part of an association; *album*; 1st–3rd century AD; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14, 2; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/15843>.
247. Αὐρήλιος Μουκιανός son of Ἰούλιος (ID 195); he was an ἔφηβος; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22910>.
248. [Μῦς?] son of Δημοφῶν; he was related to Δημοφῶν (ID 91) son of Μῦς; he was part of a religious association probably devoted to Μήτηρ θεῶν Ποντία; *album*; Hellenistic; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 52 = SEG 63, 522; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/21659>.

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249. N[---]; father of Αὐρήλιος Καλλικράτης (ID 198); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
250. Νεικηφόρος son of Μελ[---] (ID 229); he was part of a religious association probably devoted to Μήτηρ θεῶν Ποντία; dedication of an association to the emperor Gordian III and Sabinia Tranquillina; AD 241–244; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22, 2; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4037>.
251. Νεικιός?; father of Αὐρήλιος Ἀπήμων (ID 30); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
252. Αὐρήλιος Νεικομήδης son of Σειληνός (ID 300); probably the brother of Αὐρήλιος Νουμήνιος (ID 260); he was an ἔφηβος; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22926>.
253. Νείκων son of Αλη[---] (ID 12); *album*; 3rd century AD; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 31; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/15863>.

254. Flavius Nepotianus; he was a *circitor*; he lived for at least 20 years; unreadable relationship with *ignotus* (ID 425); funerary inscription; Imperial period; Dionysopolis; AE 1895, 57 = CIL III 12444; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/21356>.
255. Νίκίας father of [---]ιππος (ID 338); decree; 3rd century BC; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 13(3).
256. Νίκιος; father of Απήμων (ID 31); *album*; 2nd century BC; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22.
257. Αὐρήλιος Νουμήνης son of Φιλόξηνος (ID 324); he might have been the brother of Αὐρήλιος Αὐδασιανός (ID 50) son of Φιλόξηνος (ID 324); Αὐρήλιος Γλαῦκος (ID 71) son of Φιλόξηνος (ID 324); and Κορτιανός (ID 210) son of Φιλόξηνος (ID 324); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4105>.
258. Αὐρήλιος Νουμήνιος; he was part of a religious association probably devoted to Μήτηρ θεῶν Ποντία; dedication of an association to the emperor Gordian III and Sabinia Tranquillina; AD 241–244; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22, 2; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4031>.
259. Νουμήνιος; father of Αὐρήλιος Δημοφῶν (ID 93); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007.
260. Αὐρήλιος Νουμήνιος son of Σειληνός (ID 300); probably the brother of Αὐρήλιος Νεικομήδης (ID 252); he was an ἔφηβος; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22928>.
261. Νουμήνιος; father of [---]εις (ID 333); *album*; 1st–3rd century AD; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14, 2.

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262. Αὐρήλιος Ὀλυμπικός son of Γλυκωνιανός? (ID 75); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4117>.
263. Οὐαλέριος; father of Αὐρήλιος Γέρων (ID 64), Αὐρήλιος Θεόδωρος (ID 185) and Αὐρήλιος Ἀθηνόδωρος (ID 7); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007.
264. Αὐρήλιος Οὐίκτηρ son of Δρειβαλος (ID 122); he was an ἔφηβος; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22920>.

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265. Πάπας; father of Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντίπατρος (ID 26); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007.
266. Πάπας; father of Αὐρήλιος Γουρθιθις (ID 76) and possibly of Αὐρήλιος Λαβέρις (ID 215); he might have been the same person as Πάπας (ID 265) father of Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντίπατρος (ID 26); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007.
267. Αὐρήλιος Πάπας son of Θεόδωρος (ID 186); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4098>.
268. Πάπας son of Σεν[---] (ID 302); *album*; 3rd century AD; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 31; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/15861>.
269. Αὐρήλιος Παππας son of Χρύσιππος (ID 328); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4076>.
270. Αὐρήλιος Πάππος son of Ἄπφος? (ID 35); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4116>.

271. Αὐρήλιος Παππούς? son of *ignotus* (ID 372); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4080>.
272. Παράμυ[θος/ρος]; father of [Παρ]αμυρος (ID 273); dedication of an association to the emperor Gordian III and Sabinia Tranquillina; AD 241–244; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22, 2.
273. [Παρ]αμυρος son of Παράμυ[θος/ρος] (ID 272); he was part of a religious association probably devoted to Μητήρ θεῶν Ποντίας; dedication of an association to the emperor Gordian III and Sabinia Tranquillina; AD 241–244; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22, 2; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4041>.
274. Πεδιεύς son of Ὑγιαίνων (ID 316); he might have been an eponymous magistrate; *album*; 2nd century BC; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22954>.
275. Πιατραλῖς son of Σιλανός (ID 304); he was θεοφόρος and πατήρ τῆς θύνης in the the Ἄττεις οἱ κὲ Ἀτιαστὲ εἰαιρόδουλοι Μη[τρ]ὸς θεᾶς Ποντίας; *album*; AD 215–235; Dionysopolis; SEG 60, 768 = Sharankov 2013, 57–58; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4049>.
276. Πολυνίκη; wife of Φαίδιμος (ID 317); funerary inscription; 3rd century BC; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 26; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22943>.
277. Πολύξενος; father of Αὐρήλιος Θεόδωρος (ID 187); unspecified relationship with Αὐρήλιος Γλαῦκος (ID 70) son of Φανερὸς (ID 320) and Αὐρήλιος Φανερὸς (ID 319); funerary inscription; 3rd century AD; Dionysopolis; AE 2004, 1286 = SEG 54, 661(2).
278. Πολύξενος son of Μελεσέων; he was from Mesambria; proxeny was granted to him due to the fact that he “supported Dionysopolitans in his fatherland, but also [he] spent much time in Dionysopolis itself, equally providing his help for the citizens, and declared he would not change his attitude in the future” (Sharankov 2013, 60). He was granted the usual honours in such cases. According to Sharankov 2013, 61–62 this individual is attested also through an inscription at Mesambria, and another one is attested at Dionysopolis; two decrees; 2nd–1st century BC; Dionysopolis; SEG 60, 761 = Sharankov 2013, 60–61; SEG 59, 730 = SEG 60, 762 = Sharankov 2013, 61–61; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/21666>.
279. Πολύξενος; father of Αὐρήλιος Μενεκράτης (ID 231); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
280. Αὐρήλιος Ποσειδώνιος son of Ἄττας (ID 47); he was an ἔφηβος; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22913>.
281. Αὐρήλιος Ποσειδώνιος; he was an ἔφηβος; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22915>.
282. Αὐρήλιος Ποσιδώνιος son of Θεαγένης (ID 175); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4068>.
283. Πόσις; father of Ἑστιαῖος (ID 137); votive inscription; 3rd–2nd century BC; Dionysopolis; SEG 60, 771 = Sharankov 2013, 44, 58.
284. Αὐρήλιος Πρόκλος son of Θεαγένης (ID 176); he was an ἔφηβος; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22925>.
285. Πρόκλος; father of Αὐρήλιος Πρόκλος (ID 286); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007.
286. Αὐρήλιος Πρόκλος son of Πρόκλος (ID 285); he was an ἀντεφίβαρχος; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22908>.
287. Πρόκλος; father of *ignotus* (ID 373); *album*; 3rd century AD; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 31.
288. Πυθοκλῆς son of Ἄττας (ID 46); father of Αὐρήλιος Θεόμνηστος (ID 189); he might have been the brother of Αὐρήλιος Ἡρακλέων (ID 163) son of Ἄττας (ID 46); he was ἱερεὺς τῆς θύνης in

the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4052>.

289. Αὐρήλιος Πυθοκλῆς son of Ἑστιαῖος (ID 136); he was an ἔφηβος; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22914>.

P

290. Ennius Repertus; votive inscription; AD 180–192; Dionysopolis; AE 1969/1970, 578; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/14646>.
291. Ῥοδοκλεία daughter of Δημοχάρης (ID 94); funerary inscription; 3rd century BC; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 27; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22945>.
292. Αὐρήλιος Ῥοῦφος son of Σειλανός (ID 297); he was probably the brother of Αὐρήλιος Γλαῦκος (ID 69) son of Σειλανός (ID 297); Αὐρήλιος Ἡρακλείδης (ID 160) son of Σειλανός (ID 297); Αὐρήλιος Σειλανός (ID 298) son of Σειλανός (ID 297); Αὐρήλιος Σειλανός (ID 299) son of Σειλανός (ID 297); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4089>.
293. Ῥώλης; father of Αὐρήλιος Μερκούριος (ID 234); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007.

Σ

294. Σατορνῖλος; father of Αὐρήλιος Ἡρακλείδης (ID 159); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
295. Σειγηρός; father of Αὐρήλιος Διονυσόδωρος (ID 115); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007.
296. Σειλανός son of Ἀνθρωπίων (ID 20); he was πατήρ in the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; he was probably the same person as the homonymous one attested at Odessos; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; IGB V 5076; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4051>.
297. Σειλανός; father of Αὐρήλιος Γλαῦκος (ID 69) and probably Αὐρήλιος Ἡρακλείδης (ID 160); Αὐρήλιος Ῥοῦφος (ID 292); Αὐρήλιος Σειλανός (ID 298); Αὐρήλιος Σειλανός (ID 299); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
298. Αὐρήλιος Σειλανός son of Σειληνός (ID 297); he was probably the brother of Αὐρήλιος Γλαῦκος (ID 69) son of Σειλανός (ID 297); Αὐρήλιος Ἡρακλείδης (ID 160) son of Σειλανός (ID 297); Αὐρήλιος Ῥοῦφος (ID 292) son of Σειλανός (ID 297); Αὐρήλιος Σειλανός (ID 299) son of Σειλανός (ID 297); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4085>.
299. Αὐρήλιος Σειλανός son of Σειλανός (ID 297); he was probably the brother of Αὐρήλιος Γλαῦκος (ID 69) son of Σειλανός (ID 297); Αὐρήλιος Ἡρακλείδης (ID 160) son of Σειλανός (ID 297); Αὐρήλιος Ῥοῦφος (ID 292) son of Σειλανός (ID 297); Αὐρήλιος Σειλανός (ID 298) son of Σειλανός (ID 297); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4072>.
300. Σειληνός; father of Αὐρήλιος Νεικομήδης (ID 252) and Αὐρήλιος Νουμήνιος (ID 260); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007.
301. Σειληνός son of Ἀνθρωπίων (ID 21); he was attested at Odessos; he was probably the same person as the homonymous one attested as πατήρ in the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ

- Μητρός θεῶν Ποντίας; votive inscription; 3rd century AD?; Dionysopolis; IGB V 5076; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/17014>.
302. Σεν[---]; father of Παπᾶς (ID 268); *album*; 3rd century AD; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 31.
303. Σεραπίων; father of Λυσίμαχος (ID 220); votive inscription; Imperial period; SEG 60, 779 = Sharankov 2013, 53.
304. Σιλανός; father of Πιατραλῖς (ID 275); *album*; AD 215–235; Dionysopolis; SEG 60, 768 = Sharankov 2013, 57–58.
305. Σιληνός; father of Ἀλκείδης (ID 13); *album*; Hellenistic; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 52 = SEG 63, 522.
306. Σιληνός son of Μεγακρέων (228); he was part of a religious association probably devoted to Μητρη θεῶν Ποντία; *album*; Hellenistic; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 52 = SEG 63, 522; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/21651>.
307. Σκύθης son of Διονύσιος (ID 110); father of Μηνόδοτος (ID 237); dedication; 2nd century BC; Dionysopolis; SEG 60, 772 = Sharankov 2013, 52; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/21650>.
308. Αὐρήλιος Σουλπίκιος son of Μάξιμος (ID 223); he was an ἔφηβος; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22935>.
309. Σουπερίων; father of Αὐρήλιος Ἀντίπατρος (ID 27); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14 = IGB V 5007.
310. Σουσαῖς; husband of Λεστορμη (ID 217); son-in-law of Δίζδων (ID 97); funerary inscription; Imperial period; IGB I² 27, 2 = IGB V 5011, 2; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/15851>.
311. Σπε[---]; father of Καλόκα<ι>ρος (ID 200); dedication of an association to the emperor Gordian III and Sabinia Tranquillina; AD 241–244; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22, 2.
312. Σωσίπατρος; father of Αὐρήλιος Αὐτοκράτης (ID 53); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
313. Σωφροσύνη daughter of *ignotus* (ID 420) and Φιλί[---] (ID 322); sister of Ἀρτεμίδωρος (ID 39); funerary inscription; unknown dating; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 28(2) = IGB V 5011, 3; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/15857>.

T

314. Ταῦρις; husband of Γυκέρα (ID 77); father of Καλλικράτης (ID 199); votive inscription; 3rd century BC; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 21.
315. Τρύφων son of Διονύσιος (ID 111); he might have been an eponymous magistrate; *album*; 2nd century BC; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22955>.

Y

316. Ὑγιαίων; father of Πεδιεύς (ID 274); *album*; 2nd century BC; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22.

Φ

317. Φαίδιμος; husband of Πολυνίκη (ID 276); funerary inscription; 3rd century BC; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 26; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22944>.
318. Φαν[---]; father of Ἀπφία (ID 34); unreadable relationship with Δημήτριος (ID 83); funerary inscription; Imperial period; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 28 = IGB V 5011, 2.
319. Αὐρήλιος Φανερός son of Β[---] (ID 54); unspecified relationship with Αὐρήλιος Θεόδωρος (ID 187) son of Πολύξενος (ID 277) and Αὐρήλιος Γλαῦκος (ID 70) son of Φανερός (ID 320); funerary inscription; 3rd century AD; Dionysopolis; AE 2004, 1286 = SEG 54, 661, 2; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/15569>.

320. Φανερός; father of Αὐρήλιος Γλαῦκος (ID 70); unspecified relationship with Αὐρήλιος Φανερός (ID 319) and Αὐρήλιος Θεόδωρος (ID 187); funerary inscription; 3rd century AD; Dionysopolis; AE 2004, 1286 = SEG 54, 661, 2.
321. Φανερός; father of [---]ωζης (ID 353); dedication of an association to the emperor Gordian III and Sabinia Tranquillina; AD 241–244; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22, 2.
322. Φιλί[---]; wife of *ignotus* (ID 420); mother of Σωφροσύνη (ID 313) and Ἀρτεμίδωρος (ID 39); funerary inscription; unknown dating; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 28, 2 = IGB V 5011, 3; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/15855>.
323. Φιλοκράτης; father of *ignotus/ignota* (ID 374); votive inscription; Imperial period; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 32.
324. Φιλόξηνος; father of Αὐρήλιος Αὔδασιανός (ID 50) and probably of Αὐρήλιος Γλαῦκος (ID 71); Κορτιανός (ID 210) and Αὐρήλιος Νουμήνης (ID 257); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
325. Φίλων son of Αἶολος (ID 9); he was part of a religious association probably devoted to Μήτηρ θεῶν Ποντία; *album*; Hellenistic; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 52 = SEG 63, 522; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/21653>.

X

326. Αὐρήλιος Χαιρη[---]; he was maybe part of an association; *album*; 1st–3rd century AD; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14, 2; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/15841>.
327. Χρύσιππος son of Ἦρων (ID 167); *album*; 3rd century AD; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 31; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/15860>.
328. Χρύσιππος; father of Αὐρήλιος Παππας (ID 269); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.

Fragmentary

329. Αὐρήλιος [---] son of *ignotus* (ID 368); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4122>.
330. [---]αλος; father of *ignotus* (ID 375); decree; 4th century BC; SEG 63, 521 = Sharankov 2013, 47, no. 88.
331. [---]δων; father of *ignotus* (ID 376); *album*; 2nd century BC; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22.
332. [---]δωρος; father of *ignotus* (ID 377); *album*; 1st–3rd century AD; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14(2).
333. [---]εις son of Νουμήνιος (ID 261); he was maybe part of an association; *album*; 1st–3rd century AD; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14, 2; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/15844>.
334. [---]ης; father of [---]ης (ID 335); dedication of an association to the emperor Gordian III and Sabinia Tranquillina; AD 241–244; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22, 2.
335. [---]ης son of [---]ης (ID 334); he was γραμματεὺς in an association probably devoted to Μήτηρ θεῶν Ποντία; dedication of an association to the emperor Gordian III and Sabinia Tranquillina; AD 241–244; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22, 2; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4044>.
336. [---]θις son of Λάμυρ[ος?] (ID 216); he was part of a religious association probably devoted to Μήτηρ θεῶν Ποντία; dedication of an association to the emperor Gordian III and Sabinia Tranquillina; AD 241–244; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22, 2; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4043>.
337. [---]ιος; father of *ignotus* (ID 378); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
338. [---]ιππος son of Νικίας (ID 255); decree; 3rd century BC; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 13, 3; <http://epdb.romans1by1.com/rpeople/23051>.

339. Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος [---]κωρος son of Ἀντίοχος (ID 22); he was φιλότιμος, ἱερεὺς and γυμνασίαρχος; he made distributions to the Council, the Boule of the Pentapolis, the merchants, the physicians and the professors; honorary inscription; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 15, 2; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4026>.
340. [---]νάνδρος; father of Αὐρήλιος Δημήτριος (ID 87); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
341. [---]νιος; father of *ignotus* (ID 379); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
342. [---]ο[έ]νης son of Βαρχ[---] (ID 56); he was an eponymous priest; *album*; 3rd century BC; Dionysopolis; SEG 60, 766 = Sharankov 2013, 59; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/21661>.
343. [---]οσ[---] son of *ignotus* (ID 390); he might have been an eponymous magistrate; *album*; 2nd century BC; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22956>.
344. [---]ος son of *ignotus* (ID 380); he might have been an eponymous magistrate; *album*; 2nd century BC; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22951>.
345. [---]ος; father of *ignotus* (ID 381); *album*; 2nd century BC; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22.
346. [---]πιών; father of *ignotus* (ID 382); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
347. [---]ρίχος; father of *ignotus* (ID 383); decree; 4th century BC; SEG 63, 521 = Sharankov 2013, 47, no. 88.
348. [---]ρος; father of *ignotus* (ID 385); *album*; 1st–3rd century AD; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14, 2.
349. [---]ρος; father of *ignotus* (ID 384); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
350. [---]ς son of Κοκκέϊος (ID 208); he was maybe part of an association; *album*; 1st–3rd century AD; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14, 2; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/15837>.
351. [---]σκος son of Γέρων (ID 65); he was eponymous priest; *album*; 3rd century BC; Dionysopolis; SEG 60, 766 = Sharankov 2013, 59; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/21663>.
352. [---]τιος; father of *ignotus* (ID 386); decree; 4th century BC; SEG 63, 521 = Sharankov 2013, 47, no. 88.
353. [---]ωζης son of Φανερός (ID 321); he was part of a religious association probably devoted to Μήτηρ θεῶν Ποντία; dedication of an association to the emperor Gordian III and Sabinia Tranquillina; AD 241–244; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22, 2; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4038>.
354. [---]ων son of Ἀντίχαρος (ID 28); *album*; 3rd century AD; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 31; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/15859>.
355. [---]ων; father of *ignotus* (ID 387); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
356. [---]ωρος; father of *ignotus* (ID 388); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.

Ignoti/ignotae

357. *ignotus*; father of Αὐρήλιος Ἀριστομένης (ID 37); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
358. *ignotus*; father of Αὐρήλιος Ἀσκληπιάδης (ID 43); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
359. *ignotus* son of Γλαῦκος (ID 72); he was maybe part of an association; *album*; 1st–3rd century AD; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14(2); <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/15842>.
360. *ignotus* son of Δημήτριος (ID 88); he might have been an eponymous magistrate; *album*; 2nd century BC; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22948>.

361. *ignotus*; father of Διονυσόδωρος (ID 117); dedication of an association to the emperor Gordian III and Sabinia Tranquillina; AD 241–244; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22, 2.
362. *ignotus* son of Ἑρμῖππος (ID 131); he was eponymous priest; *album*; 3rd century BC; Dionysopolis; SEG 60, 766 = Sharankov 2013, 59; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/21660>.
363. *ignotus* son of Ἡρακλείδης (ID 161); he might have been an eponymous magistrate; *album*; 2nd century BC; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22947>.
364. *ignotus*; father of Αὐρήλιος Θεο[---] (ID 180); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
365. *ignotus*; father of Ἰσίδω[ρος?] (ID 196); dedication of an association to the emperor Gordian III and Sabinia Tranquillina; AD 241–244; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22, 2.
366. *ignotus* son of Κοκκέιος (ID 209); he might have been a relative (brother?) of *ignotus* (ID 367) son of Κοκκέιος (ID 209); he was maybe part of an association; *album*; 1st–3rd century AD; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14(2); <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/15838>.
367. *ignotus* son of Κοκκέιος (ID 209); he might have been a relative (brother?) of *ignotus* (ID 366) son of Κοκκέιος (ID 209); he was maybe part of an association; *album*; 1st–3rd century AD; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14, 2; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/15845>.
368. *ignotus*; father of Αὐρήλιος [---] (ID 329); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
369. *ignotus*; father of Αὐρήλιος Μαρκιανός (ID 226); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
370. *ignotus*; father of Μητρόδωρος (ID 242); after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
371. *ignotus*; father of Μουκι[---] (ID 246); *album*; 1st–3rd century AD; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14(2).
372. *ignotus*; father of Αὐρήλιος Παπποῦς? (ID 271); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
373. *ignotus* son of Πρόκλος (ID 287); *album*; 3rd century AD; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 31; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/15858>.
374. *ignotus/a* son/daughter of Φιλοκράτης (ID 323); votive inscription; Imperial period; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 32; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/15864>.
375. *ignotus* son of [---]αλος (ID 330); decree; 4th century BC; SEG 63, 521 = Sharankov 2013, 47, no. 88; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/21403>.
376. *ignotus* son of [---]δων (ID 331); he might have been an eponymous magistrate; *album*; 2nd century BC; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22949>.
377. *ignotus* son of [---]δωρος (ID 332); he was maybe part of an association; *album*; 1st–3rd century AD; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14, 2; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/15836>.
378. *ignotus* son of [---]ιος (ID 337); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4136>.
379. *ignotus* son of [---]νιος (ID 341); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4130>.
380. *ignotus* son of [---]ος (ID 344); *album*; 2nd century BC; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22946>.
381. *ignotus*; father of [---]ος (ID 345); *album*; 2nd century BC; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22.
382. *ignotus* son of [---]πιών (ID 346); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4131>.

383. *ignotus* son of [---]ρίχος (ID 347); decree; 4th century BC; SEG 63, 521 = Sharankov 2013, 47, no. 88; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/21404>.
384. *ignotus* son of [---]ρος (ID 349); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4127>.
385. *ignotus* son of [---]ρος (ID 348); he was maybe part of an association; *album*; 1st–3rd century AD; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 14, 2; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/15840>.
386. *ignotus* son of [---]τιος (ID 352); decree; 4th century BC; SEG 63, 521 = Sharankov 2013, 47, no. 88; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/21405>.
387. *ignotus* son of [---]ων (ID 355); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4124>.
388. *ignotus* son of [---]ωρος (ID 356); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4133>.
389. *ignotus*; father of Αὐρήλιος [---] (ID 334); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
390. *ignotus*; father of [---]οσ[---] (ID 343); *album*; 2nd century BC; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22.
391. *ignotus* son of *ignotus* (ID 393); he might have been an eponymous magistrate; *album*; 2nd century BC; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22950>.
392. *ignotus*; father of *ignotus* (ID 394); dedication of an association to the emperor Gordian III and Sabinia Tranquillina; AD 241–244; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22, 2.
393. *ignotus*; father of *ignotus* (ID 391); *album*; 2nd century BC; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22.
394. *ignotus* son of *ignotus* (ID 392); he was ἀρχιγάλλος in an association probably devoted to Μήτηρ θεῶν Ποντία; dedication of an association to the emperor Gordian III and Sabinia Tranquillina; AD 241–244; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22, 2; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4040>.
395. *ignotus*; father of *ignotus* (ID 396); dedication of an association to the emperor Gordian III and Sabinia Tranquillina; AD 241–244; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22, 2.
396. *ignotus* son of *ignotus* (ID 395); he was γραμματεὺς in an association probably devoted to Μήτηρ θεῶν Ποντία; dedication of an association to the emperor Gordian III and Sabinia Tranquillina; AD 241–244; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22, 2; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4042>.
397. *ignotus*; father of *ignotus* (ID 398); dedication of an association to the emperor Gordian III and Sabinia Tranquillina; AD 241–244; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22, 2.
398. *ignotus* son of *ignotus* (ID 397); he was ἀρχ[ι--] in an association probably devoted to Μήτηρ θεῶν Ποντία; dedication of an association to the emperor Gordian III and Sabinia Tranquillina; AD 241–244; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22, 2; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4045>.
399. *ignotus*; father of *ignotus* (ID 400); *album*; AD 215–235; Dionysopolis; SEG 60, 768 = Sharankov 2013, 57–58.
400. *ignotus* son of *ignotus* (ID 399); he was part of the Ἄττεις οἱ κὲ Ἀτιαστὲ εἰαιρόδουλοι Μη[τρ]ὸς θεᾶς Ποντίας; *album*; AD 215–235; Dionysopolis; SEG 60, 768 = Sharankov 2013, 57–58; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4050>.
401. *ignotus*; father of *ignotus* (ID 402); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
402. *ignotus* son of *ignotus* (ID 401); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4123>.
403. *ignotus*; father of *ignotus* (ID 404); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.

404. *ignotus* son of *ignotus* (ID 403); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4125>.
405. *ignotus*; father of *ignotus* (ID 406); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
406. *ignotus* son of *ignotus* (ID 405); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4126>.
407. *ignotus*; father of *ignotus* (ID 408); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
408. *ignotus* son of *ignotus* (ID 407); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4128>.
409. *ignotus*; father of *ignotus* (ID 410); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
410. *ignotus* son of *ignotus* (ID 409); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4129>.
411. *ignotus*; father of *ignotus* (ID 412); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
412. *ignotus* son of *ignotus* (ID 411); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4132>.
413. *ignotus*; father of *ignotus* (ID 414); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
414. *ignotus* son of *ignotus* (ID 413); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4134>.
415. *ignotus*; father of *ignotus* (ID 416); *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523.
416. *ignotus* son of *ignotus* (ID 415); he was part of the association of Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεῶν Ποντίας; *album*; after AD 212; Dionysopolis; Sharankov 2013, 55–57 = SEG 60, 767 = SEG 63, 523; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4135>.
417. *ignotus*; father of *ignotus* (ID 418); honorary inscription for Akornion son of Dionysos, priest and ambassador of Dionysopolis; around 48 BC; IGB I² 3.
418. *ignotus* son of *ignotus* (ID 417); he was a μύστης. Due to the mention of μύσται, one can assume the existence of a cult association in Dionysopolis worshipping the Samothracian Gods; honorary inscription for Akornion son of Dionysos, priest and ambassador of Dionysopolis; around 48 BC; IGB I² 3; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/5804>.
419. *ignotus*; father of *ignotus* (ID 420); grandfather of Ἀρτεμίδωρος (ID 39) and Σωφροσύνη (ID 313); father-in-law of Φίλι[---] (ID 322); funerary inscription; unknown dating; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 28, 2 = IGB V 5011, 3.
420. *ignotus* son of *ignotus* (ID 419); husband of Φίλι[---] (ID 322); father of Ἀρτεμίδωρος (ID 39) and Σωφροσύνη (ID 313); funerary inscription; unknown dating; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 28, 2 = IGB V 5011, 3; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/15854>.
421. *ignotus*; this individual made dedications to the Council, the *agoranomoi*, the seven tribes, the Emperor's *hymnodoi*, the physicians, the professors, and the *bouleutes* of the Pentapolis;

- honorary inscription; 2nd–3rd century AD; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 15, 3; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4027>.
422. *ignotus*; ἡγευός (leader not founder) in an association probably devoted to Μήτηρ θεῶν Ποντίας; dedication of an association to the emperor Gordian III and Sabinia Tranquillina; AD 241–244; Dionysopolis; IGB I² 22, 2; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/4030>.
423. *ignotus*; brother of *ignotus* (ID 424); votive inscription; 2nd–3rd century AD; Dionysopolis; SEG 60, 777 = Sharankov 2013, 59; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/17177>.
424. *ignotus*; brother of *ignotus* (ID 423); votive inscription; 2nd–3rd century AD; Dionysopolis; SEG 60, 777 = Sharankov 2013, 59; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/17178>.
425. *ignotus*; unreadable relationship with Flavius Nepotianus (ID 254); funerary inscription; Imperial period; Dionysopolis; AE 1895, 57 = CIL III 12444; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/21357>.
426. *ignotus*; *graffito*; unknown dating; Dionysopolis; SEG 63, 525 = Sharankov 2013, 47, no. 87; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/21641>.
427. *ignotus*; brother of *ignotus* (ID 428); *graffito*; unknown dating; Dionysopolis; SEG 63, 525 = Sharankov 2013, 47, no. 87; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/21642>.
428. *ignotus*; brother of *ignotus* (ID 427); *graffito*; unknown dating; Dionysopolis; SEG 63, 525 = Sharankov 2013, 47, no. 87; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/21643>.
429. *ignotus*; he was an οἰκονόμος; decree; 12 BC–AD 12; Dionysopolis; SEG 60, 764 = Sharankov 2013, 60, 64; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/21665>.
430. *ignotus*; he was from Kalchedon; the decree honours several citizens of Kalchedon who probably helped Dionysopolis in a naval expedition. Their exact number is unknown; decree; 2nd–1st century BC; SEG 60, 759 = Sharankov 2013, 63; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/21669>.
431. *ignotus*; he was from Kalchedon; the decree honours several citizens of Kalchedon who probably helped Dionysopolis in a naval expedition. Their exact number is unknown; decree; 2nd–1st century BC; SEG 60, 759 = Sharankov 2013, 63; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/21670>.
432. *ignotus*; unreadable relationship with *ignotus* (ID 433); the exact number of the persons is not mentioned, according to Sharankov 2013, 63 the inscription mentioned: “several persons (asked by the Dionysopolitans to propitiate the gods of the city, παρακληθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐξειλασκεῦσθαι θεοὺς τῆς πόλεως), whose names were later intentionally erased”; honorary inscription; 2nd–1st century BC; Dionysopolis; SEG 60, 760 = Sharankov 2013, 63; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22887>.
433. *ignotus*; unreadable relationship with *ignotus* (ID 432); the exact number of the persons is not mentioned, according to Sharankov 2013, 63 the inscription mentioned: “several persons (asked by the Dionysopolitans to propitiate the gods of the city, παρακληθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐξειλασκεῦσθαι θεοὺς τῆς πόλεως), whose names were later intentionally erased”; honorary inscription; 2nd–1st century BC; Dionysopolis; SEG 60, 760 = Sharankov 2013, 63; <http://romans1by1.com/rpeople/22888>.

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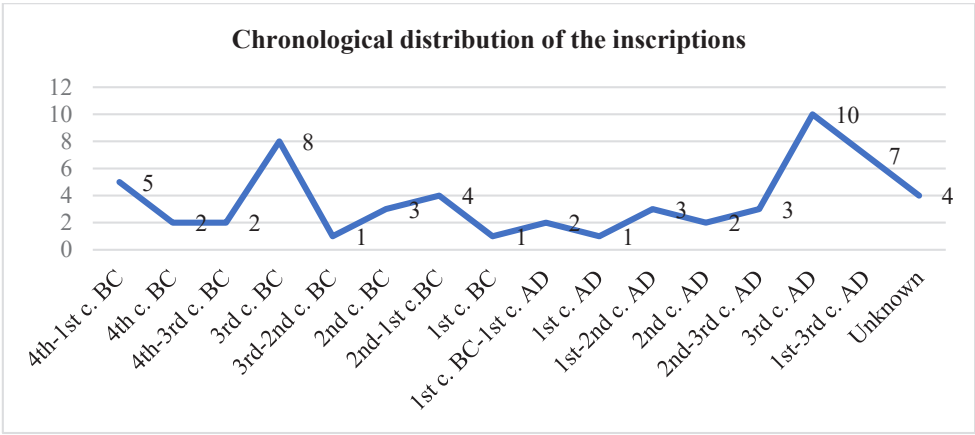
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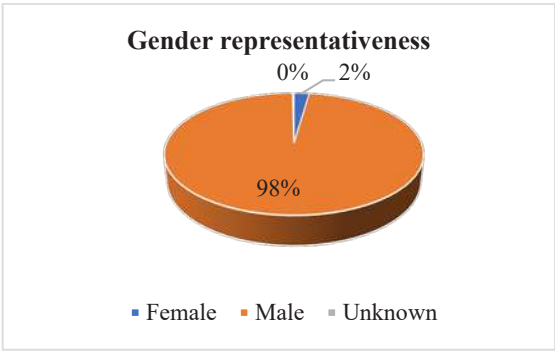
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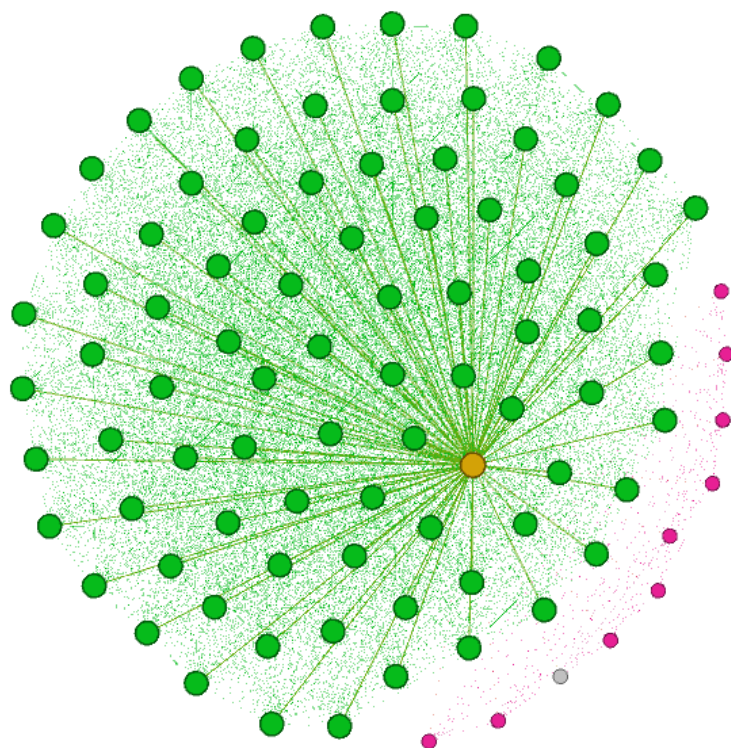


2



3

Pl. I. 1. Map of the Black Sea area with Dionysopolis. From the Digital Atlas of the Roman Empire <https://imperium.ahlfeldt.se/>; 2. Chronological distribution of the inscriptions; 3. Gender representativeness.



Legend

Green – the individuals whom are part of the Νεομηνιασταὶ Μητρὸς θεᾶς Πον[τία]ς.

Pink – the members of the Ἄττεις οἱ κὲ Ἄτιαστὲ εἰαιρόδουλοι Μητρὸς θεᾶς Ποντίας.

Orange – the member who is part of both of the above-mentioned associations.

Grey – the member who is part of the Ἄττεις οἱ κὲ Ἄτιαστὲ εἰαιρόδουλοι Μητρὸς θεᾶς Ποντίας and of the Ἀσιανῶν σπεῖρα πρεσβ(υτέρων?).

Pl. II. Representation of the members of the three associations that are interconnected (Pázsint 2022, forthcoming).

A LEKYTHOS OF THE BELDAM PAINTER IN THE COLLECTION OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF TRANSYLVANIAN HISTORY

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Abstract: Among the numerous and varied Greek ceramic vessels in the heritage of the National Museum of Transylvanian History, there is an Attic *lekythos* with black figures, which arrived here when the Cluj museum took over the Numismatics and Antiquities Collection of the Transylvanian Museum. It is a large cylindrical *lekythos* with pattern decoration applied on a white background which, by all appearances, was produced in the workshop of the Athenian Beldam Painter. The workshop of the Beldam Painter was active in the second quarter of the 5th century BC and is considered the last group of quality black-figure vessels produced in Athens.

Keywords: Attic black figure vases; *lekythos*; the Beldam Painter.

Rezumat: Printre vasele ceramice numeroase și variate aflate în patrimoniul Muzeului Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei se găsește un *lekythos* atic cu figuri negre, ajuns aici prin preluarea de către muzeul clujean a Colecției de Numismatică și Antichități a Muzeului Ardelean. Este un *lekythos* cilindric de dimensiuni mari cu decorația aplicată pe un fond de slip alb, care, după toate aparențele, a fost produs în atelierul pictorului atenian Beldam. Atelierul pictorului Beldam a fost activ în al doilea sfert al secolului al V-lea a. Chr.

Cuvinte cheie: vase attice cu figuri negre, *lekythos*, Pictorul Beldam.

Among the numerous and varied ceramic vessels in the heritage of the National Museum of Transylvanian History, there is an Attic *lekythos* with black figures. It entered its patrimony when the Cluj museum acquired the old Numismatics and Antiquities Collection of the Transylvanian Museum. From the latter's inventory register, we learn that the vessel was bequeathed to the museum by Countess Ottilia Wass at the beginning of the 20th century.¹ Unfortunately, the place where it was purchased and the place of discovery is unknown.

The vessel is preserved in its entirety (the piece has been restored) (Pl. I/1). It is a large cylindrical *lekythos* with a height of 18.7 cm, mouth diameter of 3.2 cm, foot diameter of 4.5 cm, and max. diameter of 6.3 cm. It has a short flaring mouth, slightly concave on the inside, with an oblique faceted lip on the outside; narrow arched neck, narrow shoulder, angular in the area of attachment to the body; body with a slim silhouette that narrows slightly towards the bottom; thick, rounded bottom and short foot. The latter is made up of two segments, the upper one short, rounded and slightly retracted inside, the lower one

¹ *Lekythos* of fired clay, made of several pieces glued together, here and there filled with coloured soil. The testament of Countess Ottilia Wass from the year 1917 (inventory register of the Transylvanian Museum, inv. no. IV. 3793).

higher and slightly rounded. The vertical handle with an oval section is attached to the neck and shoulder. The decorative motifs on the neck are applied on a red background, and those on the body on a white ground (Pl. I/2–3). Rays and tongues are applied on the shoulder. The central decoration, applied to the body, on the side opposite the handle, is delimited by double coloured, vertical lines. It consists of a network of diagonal lines framed at the top and bottom by double lines of colour. Above is a double branch of laurel leaves framed by dotted lines, to the right, and below an obvious fillet. In the upper part of the bottom, black bands of various sizes are applied, interspersed with white ground bands, and the lower part is completely covered with black varnish. The upper part of the foot is entirely covered with black varnish, and on the side two strips of white ground interspersed with a black strip are applied. A black band is also applied on the outer surface of the handle.

From the late 6th century BC until the mid-5th century BC many of the Attic artists specialize in the production of black-figure *lekythoi*, generating mass production;² the details of shape and decorative scheme vary depending on potter and painter.³ According to the morphological details of the shape, the *lekythos* from the Cluj-Napoca museum seems to be a large cylindrical *lekythos*, specific to the workshop of the Beldam Painter.⁴

From the point of view of the decoration, it is a white ground *lekythos* with pattern decoration.⁵ White-ground technique is one of the techniques involved in the decoration of painted vessels that emerged in the atmosphere of emulation in the Kerameikos of Athens, sometime in the second quarter of the 6th century BC.⁶ It consisted of applying a white slip on a part of the vessel to be decorated, accentuating that part of the vessel and providing an optimal surface for decoration. During the time it was used, its application varied, and white could have various shades as well.⁷ In the late 6th century BC and early 5th century BC white ground was used for black figures and red figures alike, the frequently decorated form being *lekythoi*. In the following period it flourished in three forms: *lekythoi*, cups and kraters.⁸ In Athens, white ground *lekythoi* of the classical period, having black figured decorations (black figures), were used in the funerary context. They represent a quasi-complete symbiosis between technique, iconography and function and were produced by a lot of workshops.⁹ Pattern *lekythoi* also appear in contexts other than funerary, allowing the conclusion that their area of use was not exclusively funerary.¹⁰

² Moore, Philippides 1986, 43–47; Broadman 1997, 146–150.

³ Moore, Philippides 1986, 44–47.

⁴ ABL, 170–171, Appendix XVII, nos. 1–13; Kurtz 1975, Type Bel, 84–87, pl. 18.

⁵ ABL, 185; Kurtz 1975, 153–156.

⁶ Mertens 2014, 186; in the 6th and 5th centuries BC Athenian potters and painters competed to discover, try and adopt technical innovations in the production and decoration of ceramic vessels. Beyond the classical decoration techniques – black figure and red-figure – it is due to this period the appearance of coral-red gloss, added clay and gilding, outline, Six's technique, white-ground and pastel colours, and mould made (Cohen 2014, 1–7).

⁷ Mertens 2014, 186.

⁸ Mertens 2014, 190.

⁹ Mertens 2014, 190.

¹⁰ Kurtz 1975, 131.

The *lekythos* from the Cluj-Napoca Museum is covered on the body with white ground, of a slightly pink shade, from the angular area of the junction with the shoulder to the area where the curvature of the bottom begins. The decoration on the shoulder is applied on a layer of orange varnish. Pattern decoration consists of decorative elements that are not found together on the same *lekythos* produced in Beldam's workshop but which, taken separately, are specific to this workshop. Double branch of laurel leaves framed by dotted lines to the right can be found on a *lekythos* attributed to Beldam's workshop at the National Museum of Antiquities in Bucharest.¹¹ In this case, the decorative motif is placed in the middle of the bowl and the laurel leaves are separated by two lines of dots, not by a single line as in the case of the *lekythos* from Cluj-Napoca. But the way of rendering the branch of leaves and the line of dots interspersing them is similar in both cases. The network of oblique lines that make up the central motif of the pattern decoration is rendered in a similar manner to that on a *lekythos* with pattern decoration in Athens in the Kerameikos Museum, or to that of a *lekythos* in Altenburg, Staatliches Lindenau-Museum,¹² attributed to Beldam's workshop. The fillet in the lower part of the network of oblique lines that makes up the central area of the decoration is also found on *lekythoi* attributed to the same workshop.¹³

The Beldam workshop is active in the second quarter of the 5th century BC and is considered the last group of quality black-figure vessels produced in Athens.¹⁴ The name of the painter and implicitly of the workshop was given by Dutch archaeologist Emilie Haspel,¹⁵ after an image painted on a *lekythos*, of a woman tortured by satyrs. Although previously various hypotheses were proposed regarding the identification of the female character (Lamia's torture, an adventure on the island of satyrs, etc.), E. Haspel was not very convinced since "instead of giving the leading lady a definite name I call her 'beldame', from a pleasing word".¹⁶ Haspel characterizes Beldam's works as the last phase of the "pictorial black-figure style", the master showing his character primarily in the unconventional way of choosing and treating the subjects.¹⁷

Beldam's workshop is best known for the *lekythoi* produced by its craftsmen. However, the same workshop also produced alabaster, *skyphoi*, *kantharoi* and cups¹⁸ just as, although best known for black-figure vessels, the workshop produced vases with red figures but not in the quantity and quality of those with black figures.¹⁹

The products of the workshop have a distribution that seems to be conditioned by their form and decoration.²⁰ The large cylindrical *lekythoi* and the "chimney-*lekythoi*"

¹¹ CVA 1.1, 1965, 35, pl. 30/10.

¹² Kurtz 1975, pl. 70/5; CVA 17.1, 1959, taf. 42/22.

¹³ Kurtz 1975, pl. 70/5.

¹⁴ ABL, 187; Boardman 1974, 150.

¹⁵ Beside the Beldam painter, others seem to have worked in the same workshop (ABL, 180–181).

¹⁶ ABL, 170.

¹⁷ ABL, 172–175, 190.

¹⁸ ABL, 182–185.

¹⁹ ABL, 173–174.

²⁰ ABL, 186.

passed beyond mainland Greece sporadically, but the most widely distributed were the pattern *lekythoi*, which were exported to Sicily and Magna Graecia and wherever Attic products were bought, “even at the ends of the earth”.²¹

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²¹ ABL, 186–187; Tuna-Nörling 1995, 144; Morgan 2004, 190–191.



Pl. I. 1. Drawing (by A. Bălci); 2–3. Photos (by M. C. Popescu).

UNGUENTARIA IN PRE-ROMAN DACIA. FINDS FROM CETĂȚENI¹

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Abstract: Various products from Asia Minor and Pontus reached the Geto-Dacian settlements north of the Lower Danube mainly from the 2nd century BC until the very beginning of the 2nd century AD. They are reflected in the archaeological discoveries especially through pottery (West Slope, Hadra/Lagynoi wares, Megarian Bowls, Appliqué wares, Lead Glazed ware, grey ware, Pergamene Sigillata, Eastern Sigillata B and Pontic Sigillata); *amphorae* from Rhodes, Thasos, Cnidus, Kos, Sinope, Heraclea Pontica, or Chersonesus; Pergamenian and Ephesian lamps and glass vessels made by various techniques (core made, mould or free blown, sagging, cut-faceted or splashed made). Following the excavations conducted between 2002–2004 in the Late Iron Age settlement at Cetățeni (Argeș County, Romania), a pit containing autochthonous handmade and wheel thrown pottery, fragments of *amphorae*, a cylindrical glass bead and also an *unguentarium* fragment was discovered. From the chronological point of view, this sealed archaeological context is of great relevance for the settlement. The discovery allows us to make some observations concerning import and use of perfumes and aromatic oils north of the Lower Danube, in the *Barbaricum*, before the making of the new Roman province of Dacia.

Keywords: pre-Roman Dacia; Late Iron Age; Cetățeni; Romania; Pontus; Rhodes; vessels; *amphorae*; beads; glass vessels; *unguentaria*.

Rezumat: Din secolul al II-lea a. Chr. și până în zorii secolului al II-lea p. Chr., în așezările geto-dacilor de la nordul Dunării ajung numeroase produse microasiatice și pontice. Acest flux de produse este documentat în săpăturile arheologice, în special de veselă ceramică (vase cu decor West Slope; vase cu decor Hadra/Lagynoi, boluri megariene, vase cu decor aplicat, vase cu glazură plumbiferă, vase gri, sigillate pergameniene, sigillate orientale B și sigillate pontice); amfore de Rodos, Thasos, Cnidos, Kos, Sinope, Heraclea Pontică sau Chersonesus; lămpi produse în ateliere din Pergam și Efes și vase de sticlă realizate în tehnici variate (core made, mould free blown, sagging, cut-faceted sau splashed made). În cursul săpăturilor arheologice întreprinse în anii 2002–2004 în așezarea geto-dacică de la Cetățeni (jud. Argeș), a fost descoperită o groapă al cărei conținut era alcătuit din: ceramică locală lucrată cu mâna și cu roata, fragmente de amfore, o mărgea cilindrică de sticlă și un fragment de *unguentarium*. Cronologia acestui complex închis este deosebit de importantă pentru așezare. Descoperirea lui permite câteva observații privind importurile și utilizarea parfumurilor și uleiurilor aromate la nordul Dunării, în *Barbaricum*, înainte de întemeierea provinciei romane Dacia.

Cuvinte cheie: Dacia pre-romană; a doua epocă a fierului; Cetățeni; România; Pontul Euxin; Rhodes; veselă; amfore; mărgele; vase de sticlă; *unguentaria*.

¹ The paper is an enlarged version of a talk given at the International Symposium *Unguentarium. A terracotta vessel form and other related vessels in the Hellenistic, Roman and early Byzantine Mediterranean*, organised at Izmir, Turkey, by Dokuz Eylül University – The Research Center for the Archaeology of Western Anatolia, on May 17–18, 2018.

The main aim of this paper is to present a study of a peculiar finding spot for a Hellenistic *unguentarium*, namely the Late Iron Age archaeological site from Cetățeni, a pre-Roman Geto-Dacian settlement nearby the Carpathian Mountains in the middle of nowadays Romania (Pl. I/1). This very specific settlement of pre-Roman Dacia has evolved continuously from the 2nd century BC until the 1st century AD on the southern margin of the Carpathians foothills, on the upper valley of Dâmbovița River, at nowadays Cetățeni locality, Argeș County.²

The Geto-Dacian settlement from Cetățeni is located in a strategic position, right in front of the Carpathian Mountains, where the Dâmbovița River barely manages to make her place among the slopes which dominate the banks. It is the narrowest crossing point from north to south of the entire river's valley.

In Antiquity, as well as in the Middle Ages and in the later Pre-Modern Ages, the valley of the Dâmbovița River was an important road between the Danube and the Carpathians. Along the river there was an old cart road for the transport of trade goods. At Cetățeni, this road passed directly through the late Iron Age settlement, on the left bank of the river. Traces of this road are still visible today. Nowadays, the Dâmbovița River valley connects the plains and the mountains, too, but the modern road is on the right bank of the river.

The terrain is both extremely rugged and spectacular, also the steep slopes on both sides of the river allowed the control with limited resources of the North route toward the Carpathians and Transylvania. In no other part of the Dâmbovița River valley, does the landscape provide better conditions for traffic control like at Cetățeni.

The sealed archaeological context addressed here was discovered during the 2002–2004 excavations, carried out by the first author of this paper at Cetățeni, not in the citadel on the top of the hill, but in the Late Iron Age open settlement at the foot of the hill, on the left bank of the Dâmbovița River (Pl. I/2). It is a pit discovered during the 2004 archaeological season at a depth of 1.6 m. It was round (slightly oval) in plan, with diameters of 1.72 and 1.53 m, and the depth was rather small, only 0.46 m.³

Its filling was unitary and compact, composed of burnt earth, consistent fragments of burnt wood, frequent potsherds of imported *amphorae* (without stamps), frequent fragments of local ceramics, half of a cylindrical glass bead coloured in white, black and brown, and a fragment of around 8 cm from an imported fine *unguentarium* having the slim neck painted with dark-brown stripes on yellowish background (Pl. II/1).

The large number of potsherds in the pit, their compact agglomeration and their overlapped arrangement without leaving too much space for the ash, the burnt earth and wood, the absence of the reused potsherds – all these are arguments to consider the pit as being filled in a relatively short time. Most of the potsherds in the pit fill had traces of secondary firing, this also being the case of the polychrome bead.

In terms of stratigraphy, the pit was excavated from the base of the Late Iron Age middle layer (dated from the end of the 2nd century BC to the most part of the 1st century BC) immediately above the burnt layer which separates it from the lower stratum of the settlement, dated in the mid- and the second half of the 2nd century BC (Pl. II/2). The burnt layer and the Late Iron Age lower layer are both cut by this sealed feature. The most

² Măndescu 2006.

³ Măndescu 2006, 81–84, pl. 35–36.

appropriate interpretation of this sealed feature leads to the conclusion that the pit was dug shortly after the first stage of the Geto-Dacian settlement from Cetățeni ceased in the end of the 2nd century BC after a great fire, which produced the aforementioned burnt layer found in several parts of the site. The purpose of the pit must have been to discard waste, especially potsherds, resulting from the cleaning of the ground after the fire, so that the pottery found in the pit is representative for the end of the early horizon of the settlement.

Apart from the abundant pottery, the only other artifact found in the pit filling was a cylindrical bead made of coloured vitreous paste (Pl. II/3). Despite its apparent banality, this small personal adornment deserves an additional discussion, including a chronological perspective. The bead (2.3 cm long, 0.8 cm diameter) is made of a porous black vitreous paste, rugged and porous on the core but smooth on the outer surface, over which a twisted thin strip of white vitreous paste has been applied. The extremities were marked by applying a strip of brown fused glass over the black base material. Split in two halves lengthwise, only one half was found in the pit.

This bead is the second of this type known at Cetățeni – the first, also fragmentary, comes from the old excavations in this settlement.⁴ Moreover, in the Geto-Dacian world, cylindrical beads of this kind, made of coloured glass paste, with light-coloured twisted inserts or palmettes on a dark background, were found in settlements, in various contexts dated from the 3rd century BC until the 1st century BC, especially in the outer-Carpathian areas. The oldest ones (3rd-2nd century BC) are the few items from Bunești.⁵ Not long after this east-Carpathian early occurrence, such beads spread in numerous autochthonous settlements during the 2nd-1st century BC: Poiana,⁶ Grădiștea,⁷ Căndești,⁸ and Popești.⁹ Among all these beads, the ones from the habitation features from Grădiștea (the sunken house 4 and the pit 83) reveal a more accurate chronology, reliably dated in the second half, respectively in the last quarter of the 2nd century BC.¹⁰ Beyond the Carpathians, in the Geto-Dacian milieu from Transylvania, this type of beads is less frequent, with the exception of the settlement from Sighișoara, for example.¹¹ Even further to the northwest, in Crișana, similar cylindrical beads made of coloured vitreous paste (thin white palmettes on dark blue background) were found at Bălnaca, in a secondary position, together with other archaeological materials dated to the middle Latène chronological horizon.¹²

The origin of this type of beads seems to be one of the Greek cities on the Black Sea coast, as indicated by the relatively high density of similar beads discovered in the graves especially at Callatis,¹³ but also at Tomis.¹⁴ All the data of the beads from the area of the Greek cities from the Black Sea's western shore indicate the second half / end of the 3rd

⁴ Rosetti 1962, 86, fig. 7/4.

⁵ Bazarciuc 1980, 168, fig. 12/1.

⁶ Vulpe, Teodor 2003, 241, catalogue nos. 561–563, fig. 129/33–35.

⁷ Sirbu 1996, 101, fig. 122/4–5.

⁸ Bobi 1999, 184, pl. 109/6.

⁹ Vulpe 1959, 314, fig. 14/2; Turcu 1979, 211, pl. 34.

¹⁰ Sirbu 1996, 101, fig. 122/4–5.

¹¹ Horedt, Seraphin 1971, 89, fig. 64/32, 34.

¹² Mozsolics 1943, 86–87, fig. 3–5; Crișan 1973, 54; Dietrich, Dietrich 2006, 28.

¹³ Iconomu 1968, 267, fig. 50; Bărlădeanu-Zavatin 1980, 236–237, pl. 9; Constantin et alii 2007, 252, pl. 23.

¹⁴ Bucovală 1967, 85–86, fig. 52/d.

century BC and the entire 2nd century BC. In the territories north of the Black Sea, this specific form of beads constituted group 2 subgroup 4.3 (20403) established by Alekseeva.¹⁵ Examples of polychrome glass, identical to the bead from Cetățeni (white stripes on a black background, brown stripes at the ends) can be found in type 339, dated at Tanais in the 2nd–1st century BC,¹⁶ therefore somewhat later than those from the area west of the Black Sea.

The local made pottery found in the pit (Pl. III) is particularly varied in types and shapes – the potsherds come from about 20 different handmade vessels (bowls, tureens, cups, mugs, jars, pots, lid etc.), functionally mixed, for cooking, serving and also for storing the food (Pl. IV/1). There are also few sherds of small wheel-made pots. But despite this remarkable variety, the chronological value of local ceramics is extremely low.

The imported pottery found in the pit (Pl. IV/2) comes from at least four *amphorae*. Unfortunately, no stamp was found among these fragments, but according to the fabric, colour and forms, most fragments belong to Rhodian *amphorae*. One of these potsherds, coming from an *amphora* shoulder is marked after firing with an interesting *graffito* (Pl. IV/3). There are also some fragments of *amphorae* that are similar in shape to those of Rhodos, but the fabric is different, which is more reddish, without pale pink surface coating and with many calcareous concretions.

However, the *amphorae* of Rhodos are a common presence in the Geto-Dacian settlement at Cetățeni, with hundreds of fragments and tens of stamps known from the older excavations.¹⁷ We will return to them a little bit later. Moreover, this situation of the settlement at Cetățeni is not at all a singular one, as the *amphorae* of Rhodos are widely encountered throughout the entire pre-Roman Dacia's southern area, closer to the Danube as the main way of ingress of import products into the *Barbaricum*.¹⁸

Starting from the item of Cetățeni, we will try in the following to summarize the general framework of the presence and spread of *unguentaria* in pre-Roman Dacia. Imported goods, preponderantly from Asia Minor and the Pontus Euxinus and mainly through the mediation of the Greek cities on the northern and western shores of the latter, have made their way on to the north-Thracian sites. Such goods are reflected by archaeological discoveries dated from the 4th century BC to the beginning of the 2nd century AD, pottery, *amphorae*, lamps, or glass products.¹⁹

A modest afflux of products from Asia Minor and the Pontus has been recorded for the 4th–3rd centuries BC, but the volume of such imports increased significantly starting with the 2nd century BC, reaching a peak during the 1st century AD, up to the moment of the Roman conquest in the first years of the 2nd century AD.²⁰

As for the imported perfumes and/or *unguentaria* on Geto-Dacian sites, archaeologists have discovered glass and ceramic containers for perfumes and oils that, considering the place of origin of the other imported goods with which they were associated, most likely

¹⁵ Alekseeva 1975, 16, pl. 3.2/4.3.

¹⁶ Alekseeva 1978, 40, 53, fig. 14, pl. 31/11.

¹⁷ Tudor 1967, 53–65, catalogue nos. 11–99, fig. 1/10–23; 2–4/87–93; Glodariu 1974, 184–190, no. 25.

¹⁸ Glodariu 1974, 33–40, pl. 2; Măndescu 2015.

¹⁹ Tudor 1967; Glodariu 1974, 27–52, 70–87, 181–205, 209–221, 244–248; Popescu 2011, 5–21; Popescu 2013; Boțan 2015, 97–232.

²⁰ Glodariu 1974, 8–9; Popescu 2013, 91–95; Boțan 2015, 233–237.

ended up in Dacia from the oriental basin of the Mediterranean or the Pontus. Thus, according to data published so far, glass containers, 63 items approximately – *alabastra* and *unguentaria* – were discovered on the following sites: Barboși, Poiana, Răcătău, Brad, Bâta Doamnei (along the Siret River); Cârlo-mănești, Crășani-“Piscul Crășani”, Pietroasele-“Gruia Dărie” Ulmeni, (Munteniei Plain); Ardeu-“Cetățuie”, Grădiștea Muncelului and Șimleul Silvaniei (Transylvania) (Pl. V/1). From a chronological perspective, they follow the common ascending trend of the introduction north of the Danube of imports from Asia Minor and the Pontus mentioned above.

For the period between the 4th and the 3rd century BC we know one *alabastron*, discovered on the site of Poiana.²¹ This is a core made item (Pl. V/2) that can be included in the second Mediterranean group, Grose IIB, and dated to the end of the 4th century – the first half of the 3rd century BC.²² The item has been identified in an archaeological layer that also contained classical Attic wares from the end of the 4th century and the beginning of the 3rd century BC.²³

Both glass *alabastra* and *unguentaria* and ceramic *unguentaria* are known from the period between the 2nd century BC and the beginning of the 2nd century AD, when one notes a significant increase, north of the Danube, of the products from Asia Minor and the Pontus. The *alabastra* fragments attested so far have been identified on the sites of Poiana, Bâta Doamnei, Pietroasele-“Gruia Dărie”, Cârlo-mănești, Crășani-“Piscul Crășani” and Șimleul Silvaniei.²⁴ They are core made (Pl. V/3), thus can be included in the third Mediterranean group, Grose class III A, and can be dated to the 1st century BC.²⁵

Fragments of blown-glass *unguentaria* have been discovered on the sites of Grădiștea Muncelului, Ardeu-“Cetățuie”, Ulmeni, Crășani-“Piscul Crășani”, Barboși, Poiana, Răcătău, and Brad.²⁶ The lot consists of largely preserved fragments, made out of yellowish, greenish-yellow, greenish, and transparent blue glass (Pl. VI/1). Some fragments are from two *unguentaria* made of mosaic glass, a technique consisting of fusing together different chromatic components²⁷ (Pl. VI/2). The cases when the shapes could be determined are *unguentaria* forms Isings 8 and 28 a.²⁸ They have analogies on the sites from the Black Sea Basin, but their high numbers and standard shapes do not allow for observations on their possible places of production.

As compared to the glass containers, those made of ceramic that are known so far from Geto-Dacian sites are not numerous, 35 items approximately, and have been identified in contexts or archaeological layers dated between the 2nd century BC and the beginning of the 2nd century AD. The items have been discovered on the sites of Barboși,

²¹ Boțan 2015, 98, no. 61, pl. XXXIX/1, LIV/1.

²² Boțan 2015, 98.

²³ Vulpe, Teodor 2003, 90, 321, catalogue nos. 785–786, fig. 232/1–2.

²⁴ Dupoi, Sîrbu 2001, 44, fig. 65/4–7; Sîrbu, Matei, Dupoi 2005, 58–59, fig. 15/16, 100/2; Boțan 2015, 98–100, nos. 1, 62, pl. XVI/1–9, XXV/1a–b, XXIX/1, XLVIII/1; Popescu, Măgureanu, Matei 2020, 56–57.

²⁵ Boțan 2015, 98–99.

²⁶ Glodariu 1974, 245, 248, pl. XLIX/S15; Boțan 2015, 136–138, 157, 168, 215–220, 229–230, nos. 14, 52, 208–224, 256–258, pl. XXII/5, XXVI/11, XXXV/1, 3–6, 8–9, XXXVIII/15, XLII/6–7, XLIII/1,4, XLVI/13, L/6, LII/8, LIII/15, 18, 34, LVII/7–13, LX/1, 3–4; Cășălean 2020, 356–357, fig. 3.1–2.

²⁷ Boțan 2015, 215–216, nos. 208, 209, pl. XXXV/1, L/6, LII/8.

²⁸ Boțan 2015, 168, 216–217.

Poiana, Răcățău, Brad (along Siret River);²⁹ Bordenani, București, Crășani-“Piscul Crășani”, Popești³⁰ and Cărlomănești³¹ (Munteniei Plain); Brașov, Grădiștea Muncelului,³² Merești, and Pecica³³ (Transylvania) (Pl. VII/1).

There are fusiform and bulbous *unguentaria* (Pl. VII/2), while most of the published items are of the first type. According to published data, their fabric is reddish – yellow-red, or pinkish yellow. In some cases, the fabric includes kaolin; some are covered in reddish firnis or brown engobe, and in one case the item is covered with brown paint in the upper part. In a single case the authors mention the fact that the fragment in question displays reduced firing.

According to data available so far, briefly presented here, it becomes apparent that one cannot identify the centres where the ceramic *unguentaria* have been produced. One also does not know details related to their contents.

The sites where ceramic *unguentaria* were identified with few exceptions – Merești and Pecica – are known for their abundance in wares from Asia Minor and Pontic region, as well as for the variety of such items that can be dated between the 2nd century BC and the 1st century AD.³⁴ In the majority of cases one knows that such wares were identified in archaeological contexts dated to the 2nd century BC – the beginning of the 2nd century AD and in very rare cases one can talk of wares discovered in sealed contexts and, implicitly, of the materials with which such items were associated.

One of these exceptional situations is the case of ceramic *unguentaria* found on the site of Bordenani (situated right on the northern bank of the Danube) in seven archaeological contexts, all dated in the 1st century BC: one dwelling and six household refuse pits.³⁵ In three of the six pits, the ceramic *unguentaria* were associated with imported ceramic wares. In pit 56 one fragment from a spindle-shaped *unguentarium* was discovered together with a baggy *kantharos* with West Slope decoration³⁶ (Pl. VIII/1). In pit 70 one spindle-shaped “oxidised-fired *unguentarium*”, almost entirely preserved, was discovered together with a *skyphos* PF6, shape S³⁷ (Pl. VIII/2). These forms are attested in Pergamum in contexts dated at the earliest to the fourth quarter of the 2nd century BC and no later than the last third of the 1st century BC.³⁸

In the pit 86 “one fragment from an *unguentarium* displaying reduced firing” was discovered together with a fragment from a mug with Hadra decoration produced in the centre of Histria³⁹ (Pl. VIII/3). The production of vessels with Hadra decoration is

²⁹ Glodariu 1974, 210, 212–213, 219, catalogue nos. 2b, 19 j, 25d-f, 37/106–107, pl. XXV, C37/107, XL, C2/b; Căpitanu 1976, 59, fig. 37/3; Ursachi 1994, 223, pl. 196/8, 324/1; Vulpe, Teodor 2003, 93–94, 331–332, catalogue nos. 887–893, fig. 243/1–5.

³⁰ Glodariu 1974, 211–212, 217; Trohani 2005, 56–57, 63, 71, 86, pl. 87/1, 99/24, 109/2, 125/2.

³¹ Inedited data, courtesy of Arch. D. Măgureanu from the Institute of Archeology V. Pârvan, Bucharest.

³² Glodariu 1974, 210, 213.

³³ Items in processing from the patrimony of the National History Museum of Transylvania, Cluj-Napoca.

³⁴ Glodariu 1974, 210–213, 216–219; Popescu 2013, 190–196, 198–206.

³⁵ Trohani 2005, 22, 28, 56, 63, 71, 82–83, 86.

³⁶ Trohani 2005, 63, pl. 99/24; Popescu 2013, 97, no. 2, pl. 1, 28.

³⁷ Trohani 2005, 71, pl. 109/2; Popescu 2013, 117, no. 122, pl. 8, 39.

³⁸ Mayer-Schlichtmann 1988, 69–70.

³⁹ Trohani 2005, 86, pl. 125/2; Popescu 2013, 109, no. 90, pl. 33.

documented in this latter centre from the middle of the 2nd century until the middle of the 1st century BC.⁴⁰

In fact, in the settlement of Bordușani ceramic spindle-shaped *unguentaria* were present during the chronological interval between the first half of the 1st century BC and the end of the same century.⁴¹ When such items feature together with other imports originating from known production centres in Asia Minor such as Pergamum and Ephesus and from unidentified centres in the Pontus Euxinus, there is the possibility that they originated in centres from western Asia Minor and Pontus.

As for the use of the perfumes and unguents that permeated the territories north of the Danube, the contexts in which the presented items were found only provide several brief clues. The presented items (including those made of glass – *alabastra* and *unguentaria*) were discovered in the culture layer from civilian settlements and from the acropolises or, more rarely, in contexts – household refuse pits and dwellings. In a single case they can be associated to uses in a funerary context. These are several miniature glass *unguentaria* found in an aristocratic tumular incineration grave nearby the great settlement from Poiana.⁴² They were made through the technique of free glass blowing from violet or greenish glass paste. The majority display deformations under fire and were, very likely, part of a necklace deposited as a funerary offering. According to available data, one cannot know if they had initially contained perfumes or unguents and were subsequently placed inside the grave or if they were created for the purpose. The Roman silver fibula of Emona type from the grave at Poiana points out toward a date for this funerary context in the mid-1st century AD.⁴³

Returning to the *unguentarium* from Cetățeni, no exact analogy in the Geto-Dacian world is known. Some approximate analogies from the areas of the Greek cities on the western coast of the Black Sea are generally dated to the 2nd century and early 1st century BC.⁴⁴ More accurate analogies regarding the shape and the paintings, but more remote geographically, can be evoked from Stobi, found in graves dated to the 3rd and the 2nd centuries BC⁴⁵, as well as the painted exemplars from Tel Anafa dating back to 125 BC.⁴⁶

In order to have a more precise date of the *unguentarium* from Cetățeni, in 2020, thus more than 15 years after the discovery, a radiocarbon dating was performed on a sample of charcoal (Poz-126086), collected from the pit during the excavation and preserved in optimal conditions in the archaeological depository of the Argeș County Museum.

The result of the calibration in the sigma 2 domain (95.4% probability) indicates a time interval between the middle of the 4th century and the end of the 2nd century BC (Pl. IX). Of the two peaks that stood out in the sigma 2 domain, the second one, which covers the interval between the middle of the 3rd century and the end of the 2nd century BC is more consistent (55.3%) and offers new clues towards a more reliable dating of the feature, in fact a *terminus post quem* for the digging and filling of the pit.

⁴⁰ Lungu 1999–2000, 65–66.

⁴¹ Trohani 2006, 80–87, 89.

⁴² Spânu 2012, 171, Abb. 7.

⁴³ Spânu 2012, 171, Abb. 6/3.

⁴⁴ Alexandrescu 1994, 199–200, fig. 13; Papasima, Mihail 1997, 300, no. 3, pl. III/1; Bucovaia 1995–1996, 81, pl. 5/2.

⁴⁵ Anderson-Stojanović 1987, 108–109, 118, fig. 1/g, 6, table 1.

⁴⁶ Berlin, Warner Slane 1997, 64, PW 85–93, Pl. 13, 75.

In general, this radiocarbon data obtained does not reject the dating proposed by us for this sealed context, based on the stratigraphic basis corroborated with the typology of the somewhat more chronologically sensitive inventory, namely the end of the 2nd century BC. At the same time, it is obvious that the second peak in the sigma 2 domain is perfectly congruous with the dating of *unguentaria* from Stobi that are closed analogies for our *unguentarium* from Cetățeni.

Furthermore, the dating suggested by the above-mentioned analogies from Tel Anafa corresponds very intriguingly with the peak of Rhodos *amphorae* presence in the settlement at Cetățeni. Almost a quarter of the 46 stamps of Rhodian eponyms known at Cetățeni, which generally extend throughout the entire 2nd century BC, are from the decade between 130 and 121 BC.⁴⁷ Given the Rhodos *amphorae* fragments in the Cetățeni pit (and in accordance with the stratigraphic data of the feature), the probability that our *unguentarium* will date from the same period is very high. It is also very likely that this import arrived at Cetățeni together with the wine of Rhodos.

Like many other Mediterranean centres, Rhodes must have been in great extent a producer of perfumes and scented oils together with their specific containers, so it is not excluded at all that the *unguentarium* from Cetățeni to be also an import from this Aegean island.

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⁴⁷ Măndescu 2016, 364–365, 372, fig. 2, 4.

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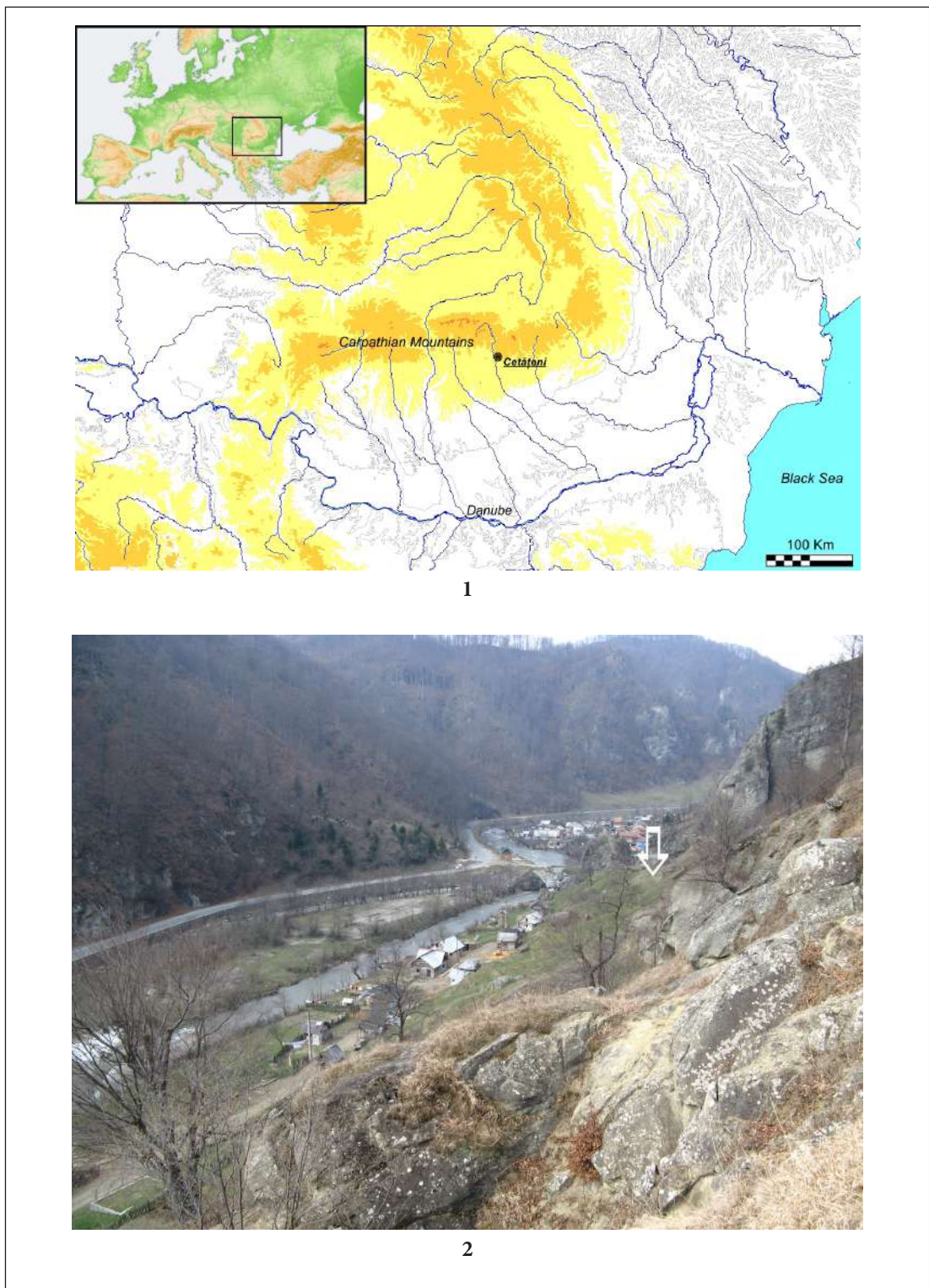
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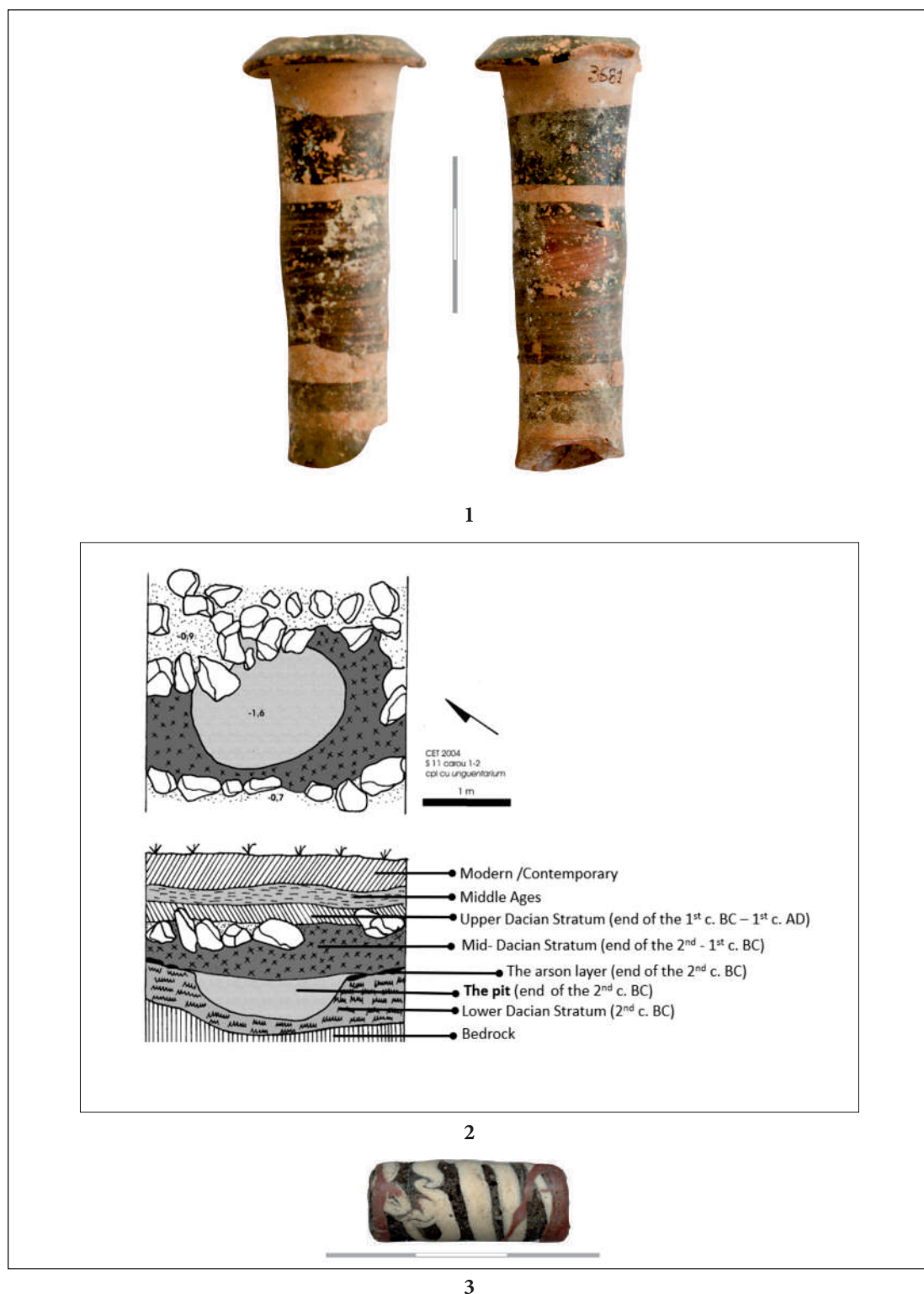
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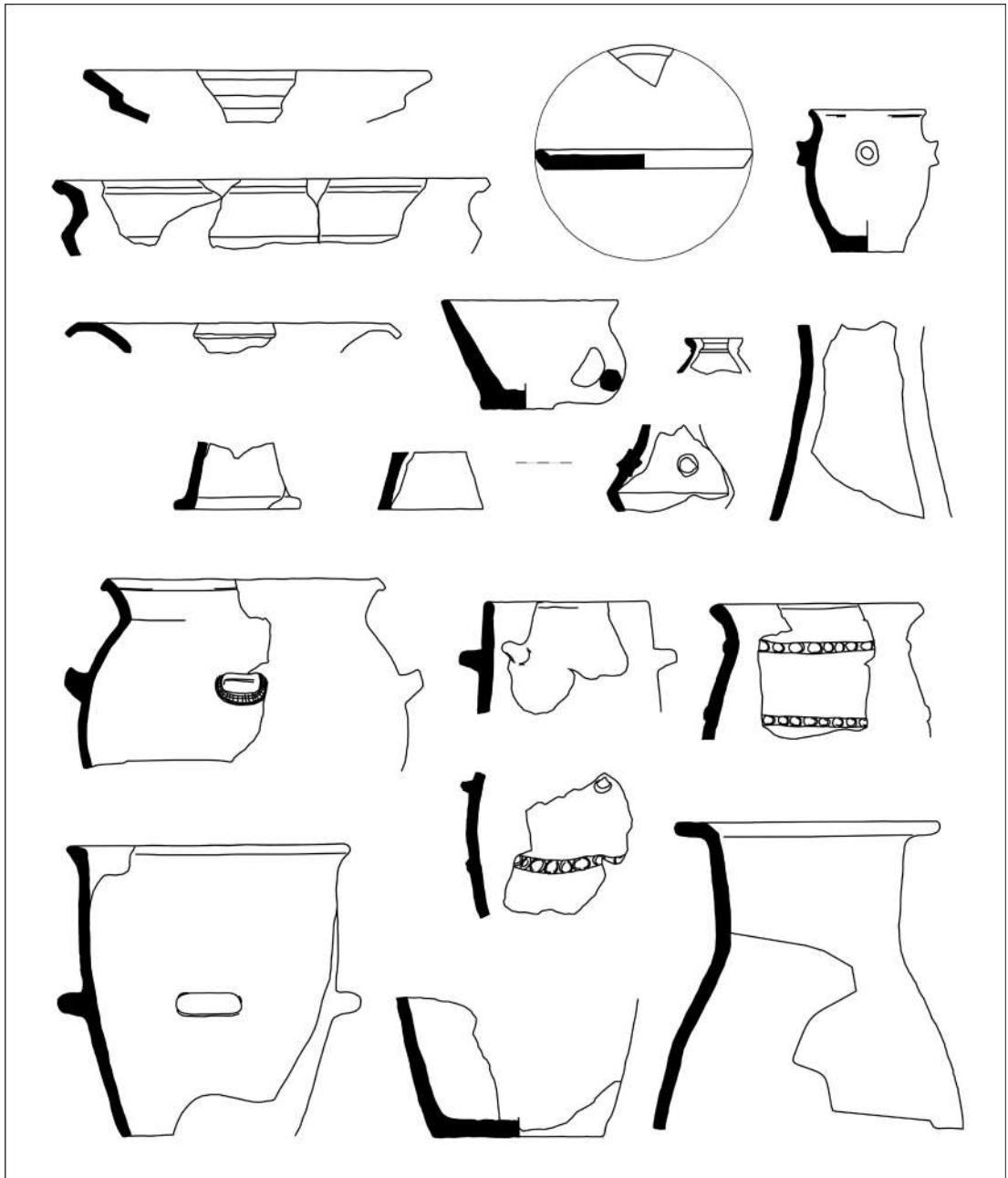
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Pl. I. 1. Location of the archaeological site in the southern proximity of the Carpathian Mountains; **2.** Cetățeni. General view upon the Late Iron Age site (from South) with the spot of the excavations from 2002–2004.



Pl. II. 1. Cetățeni. The fragment of *unguentarium* found in the pit; 2. Cetățeni. The plan and the stratigraphy of the sector where the pit was researched; 3. Cetățeni. The fragmentary polychrome glass bead found in the pit.



Pl. III. Cetățeni. Some reconstructed shapes of local made pottery in the pit.



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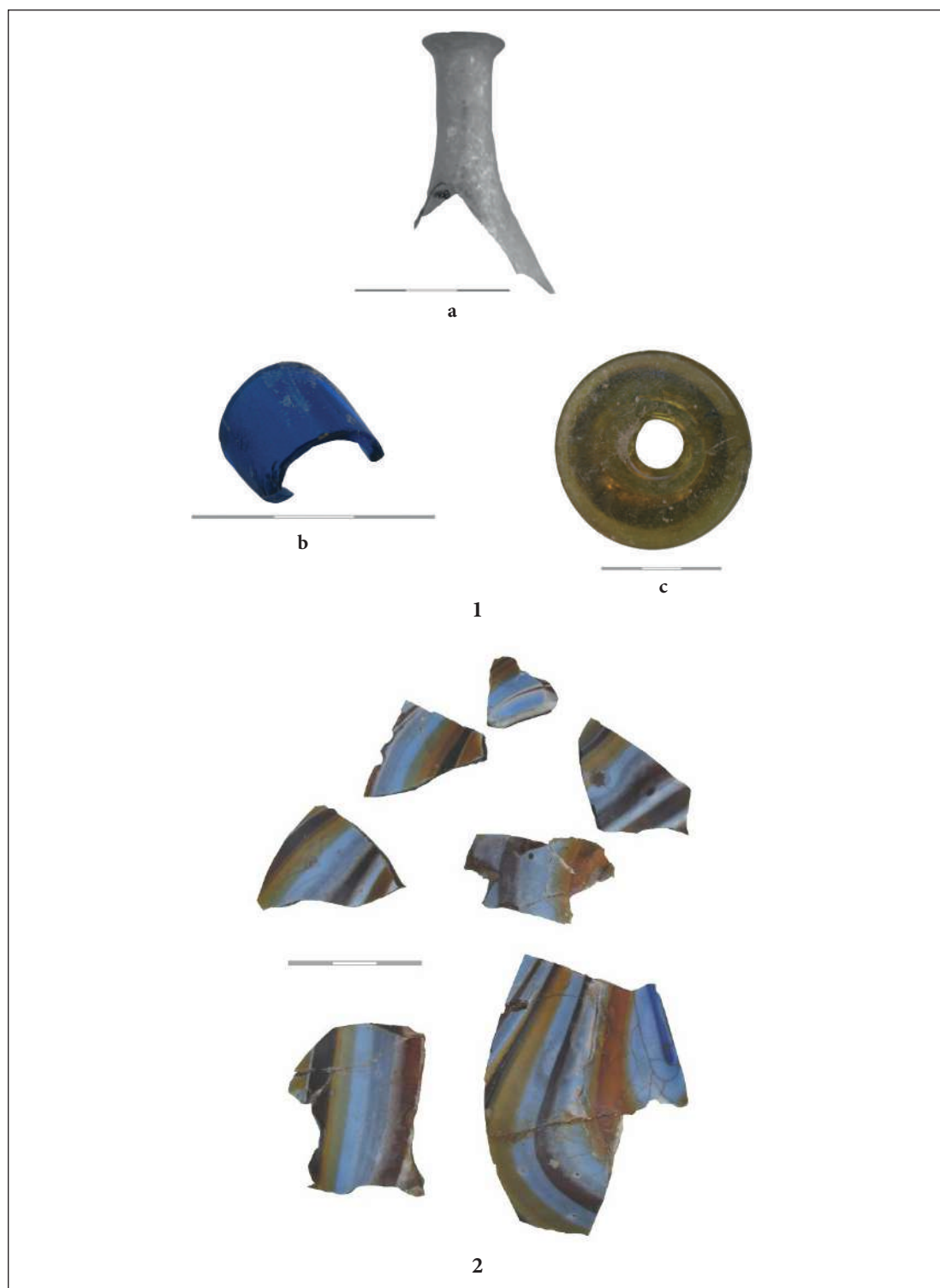


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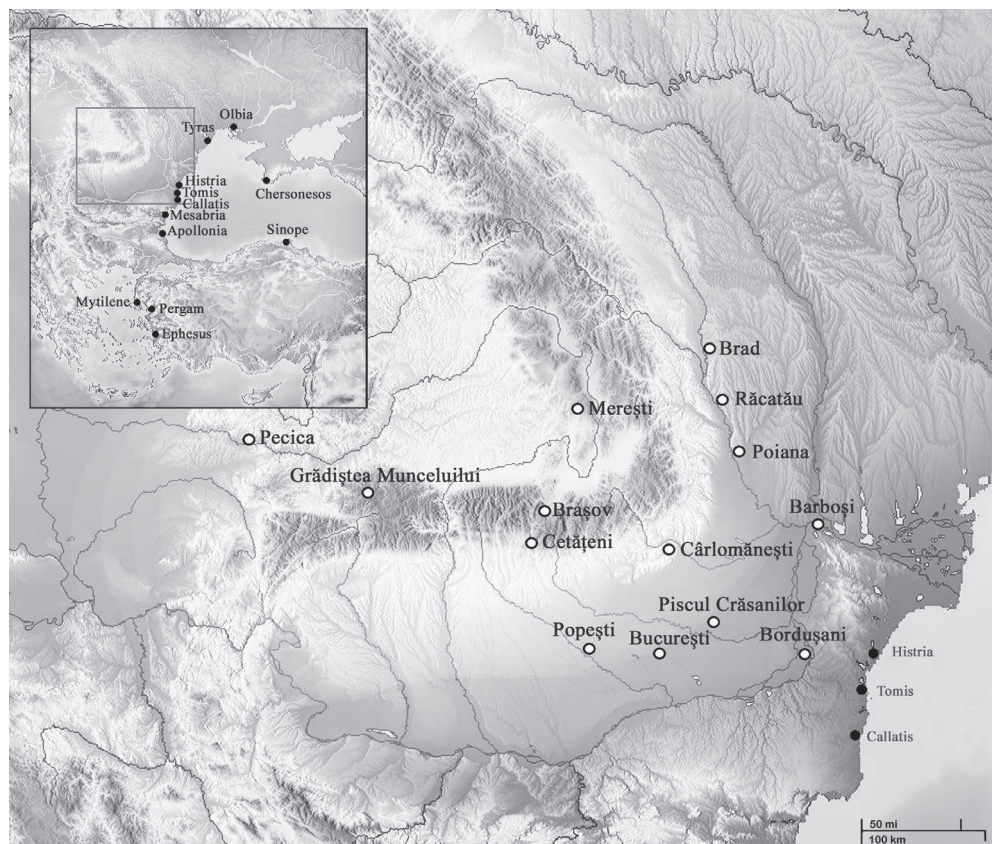
Pl. IV. 1. Cetățeni. The local pottery (mainly handmade) found in the pit; 2. Cetățeni. The imported pottery (mainly Rhodian *amphorae* potsherds) found in the pit; 3. Cetățeni. Rhodian *amphora* potsherd with *graffito* found in the pit.



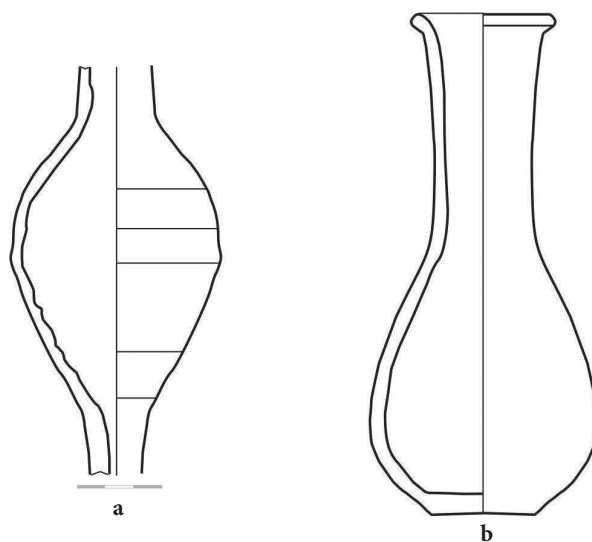
Pl. V. 1. Map of the Geto-Dacian settlements where glass *alabastra* and *unguentaria* have been discovered; **2.** *Alabastron* in pre-Roman Dacia (Poiana; photo with S. Teodor's permission); **3.** *Alabastra* in Geto-Dacian settlements (Pietroasele – "Gruu Dării", after Boțan 2015, pl. XVI/2, 6).



Pl. VI. 1. Blown-glass *unguentaria* in Geto-Dacian settlements (a. Brad, after Boțan 2015, pl. XLV/5; b. Răcătău, personal photo with V. Căpitanu's permission; c. Poiana, photo with S. Teodor's permission); **2.** Blown mosaic glass *unguentarium* in a Geto-Dacian settlement (Poiana; personal photo with S. Teodor's permission).



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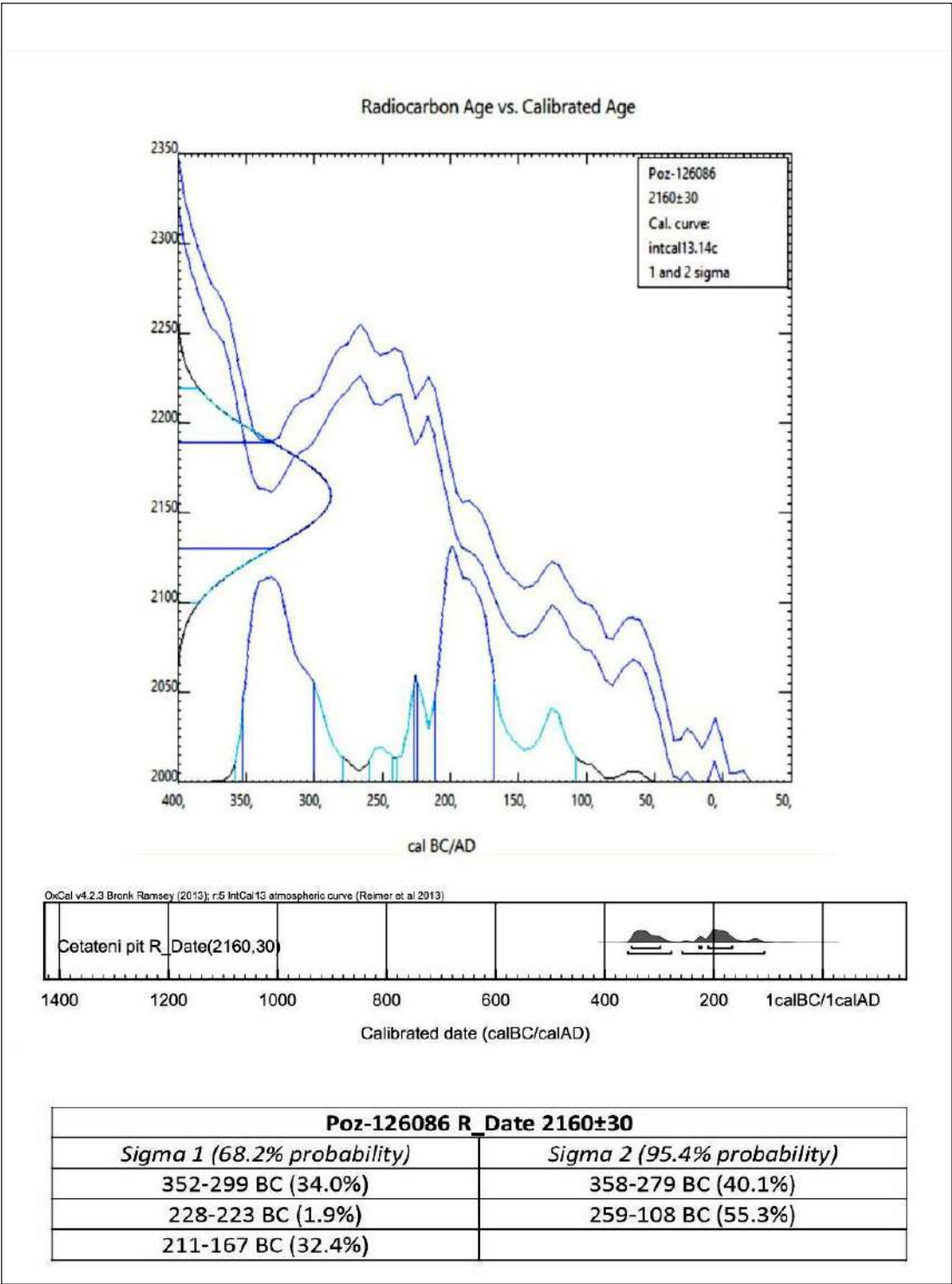


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Pl. VII.1. Map of the Geto-Dacian settlements where ceramic *unguentaria* have been discovered; **2.** Ceramic fusiform and bulbous *unguentaria* in Geto-Dacian settlements (a. Bordsani, after Trohani 2005, pl. 109/2; b. Poiana, after Vulpe, Teodor 2003, fig. 243/4).



Pl. VIII. 1. Bordușani, pit no. 56 (a. *unguentarium*, after Trohani 2005, pl. 99/24; b. Ephesian baggy *kantharos*, personal photo with G. Trohani's permission); 2. Bordușani, pit no. 70 (a. *unguentarium*, after Trohani 2005, pl. 109/2; b. Pergamenian *skyphos*, personal photo with G. Trohani's permission); 3. Bordușani, pit no. 70 (a. *unguentarium*, after Trohani 2005, pl. 125/2; b. pseudo-Hadra jug, photo with G. Trohani's permission).



Pl. IX. The result of 14C data and calibration of the sample Poz-126086.

Q. VENIDIUS RUFUS, CONSULARIS IN GERMANIA INFERIOR

WERNER ECK

DOI 10.54145/ActaMN.I.59.04

Abstract: The inscriptions CIL XIII 8825 = Dessau 9186 and CIL XIII 8828, in which the governor of Germania inferior Q. Venidius Rufus is mentioned, were incorrectly restored, mainly because it was not remarked that the title *consularis* can also be placed in front of the name. The paper provides here a reconstruction of the two texts.

Keywords: Q. Venidius Rufus; CIL XIII 8825 and 8828; *consularis* as a designation of the governor; Germania inferior.

Zusammenfassung: Die Inschriften CIL XIII 8825 = Dessau 9186 und CIL XIII 8828, in denen der Statthalter der Germania inferior Q. Venidius Rufus genannt ist, sind in einer nicht zutreffenden Weise ergänzt, vor allem weil man nicht erkannt hat, dass die Rangbezeichnung *consularis* auch vor dem Namen stehen kann. Rekonstruktion der beiden Texte.

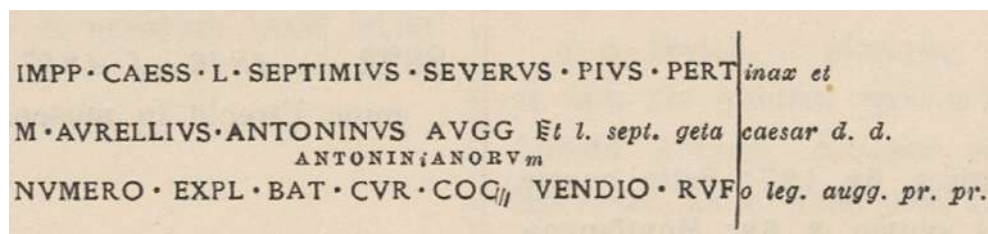
Schlüsselwörter: Q. Venidius Rufus; CIL XIII 8825 und 8828; *consularis* als Bezeichnung des Statthalters; Germania inferior.

Rezumat: Inscriptiile CIL XIII 8825 = Dessau 9186 și CIL XIII 8828, în care este menționat guvernatorul Q. Venidius Rufus, au fost reconstruite într-un mod nesatisfăcător, în primul rând întrucât nu a fost observat faptul că mențiunea titlului de *consularis* ar fi putut să stea și înaintea numelui. Articolul propune o nouă întregire a celor două texte.

Cuvinte cheie: Q. Venidius Rufus; CIL XIII 8825 și 8828; *consularis* desemnând guvernatorul; Germania inferior.

Bei der Rekonstruktion fragmentarischer Inschriften wird gelegentlich nicht darauf geachtet, ob ein in einer bestimmten Weise vervollständigter Text auf dem realen Stein einst Platz gefunden haben könnte. Das geschieht gelegentlich selbst in den Bänden des CIL wie zwei epigraphische Zeugnisse aus Germania inferior zeigen, beide aus der Zeit des Septimius Severus stammend und entstanden, als ein Q. Venidius Rufus konsularer Legat in der niederrheinischen Provinz gewesen ist.

Die erste stammt aus dem niederländischen Roomburg und wird in CIL XIII 8825 = Dessau 9186 (= EDCS-11100915) so präsentiert:



Das Photo zeigt Folgendes:



Inhaltlich sagt der Text, Septimius Severus und seine Söhne hätten für den *numerus exploratorum Batavorum* etwas erbaut; das ergibt sich aus dem Dativ *numero* sowie aus der äußeren Form der Inschrift, die nur zu einem Bauwerk passt. Das haben die Herausgeber, Hirschfeld und Zangemeister, durch den Zusatz D D am fehlenden Ende von Zeile 2 auch klar machen wollen. Dabei hätte allerdings schon auffallen müssen, dass damit Zeile 2 gegenüber Zeile 1 länger geworden ist. Das wird noch deutlicher in Zeile 3 durch die Ergänzung *leg. Augg. pr. pr.*, die viel zu lang ist gegenüber Zeile 1, die die Länge für den gesamten Text nach rechts vorgibt; denn am Ende der Zeile kann sicher nicht mehr als INAX ET ergänzt werden.

Die Herausgeber haben auch übersehen, dass sie mit der Ergänzung *leg. Augg. pr. pr.* dem Statthalter einen doppelten Titel gaben; denn das CO vor dem Namen des Statthalters blieb für sie unerklärt und enigmatisch. *CO post cur(ante) explicare nequeo* steht im Apparat.

Doch die Erklärung ist einfach: CO = *co(nsulari)*, ein Titel, der seit der 2. Hälfte des 2. Jh. mehr und mehr für konsulare Statthalter verwendet wurde,¹ manchmal freilich auch in Verbindung mit *leg. Aug. pr. pr.*² Das aber kann hier nicht der Fall sein, da der Platz am Ende von Zeile 3 dies nicht zulässt; die Zeile würde dadurch viel zu lang. Zudem muss eher dort und nicht am Ende von Zeile 2 das Verbum gestanden haben, z. B. *restit(uerunt)* oder *fecerunt*, aber kaum *d(ono/um) d(ederunt)*. Für eine Militäreinheit wird etwas erbaut, aber es wird ihr nichts geschenkt.³

Der Text von CIL XIII 8825 muss somit in dieser Weise rekonstruiert werden:

Imp(erator) Caess(ares) L(ucius) Septimius Severus Pius Pert[inax et] / M(arcus) Aurelius Antoninus Augg(usti) e[[t] L(ucius) Sept(imius) Geta [Caesar]]] / numero expl(oratorum) Bat(avorum) Antonin[i]anorum cur(ante) co(nsulari) Q(uinto) Ven(i)dio Ruff[o] fecerunt?].

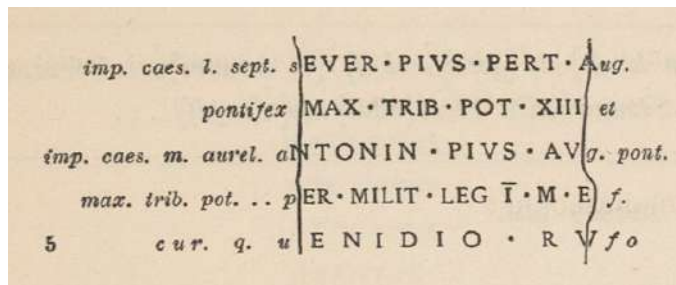
Nicht weit entfernt von diesem Kastell wurde eine weitere Bauinschrift derselben Kaiser mit demselben kaiserlichen Statthalter gefunden, deren Text sich im CIL so liest:⁴

¹ Z. B. in CIL XIII 8017 aus Bonn oder CIL XIII 6608 aus Miltenberg.

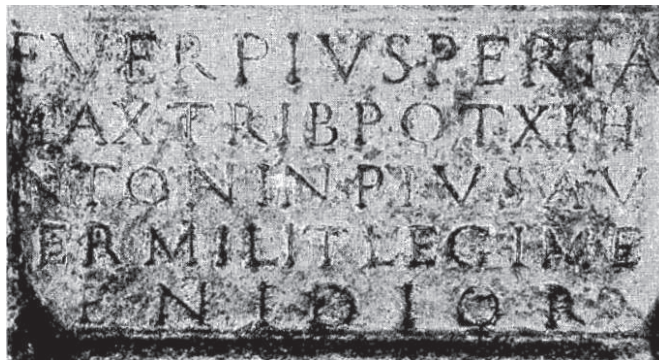
² So etwa in AE 1931, 122 oder AE 1967, 539.

³ Das einzige Beispiel, das sich in der EDCS für *donum dedit* finden ließ, ist CIL III 9055 aus Potaissa: *Imp(erator) Caes(ar) L(ucius) Sep(timius) Severus P(ius) Pert(inax) Aug(ustus) / Arab(icus) Adiabenic(us) pont(ifex) max(imus) trib(unicia) / pot(estate) III imp(erator) VII co(n)s(ul) II proco(n)s(ul) p(ater) p(atriciae) / leg(ioni) V M(acedonicae) P(iae) f(ideli) don(um) dedit dedicante / P(ublio) Septimio Geta leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) / cura(m) agente Tib(erio) C[l(audio)] Claudiano leg(ato) Aug(usti).*

⁴ CIL XIII 8828.



Durch die *tribunicia potestas* des Septimius Severus wird die Inschrift ins Jahr 205 datiert. 1976 hat J. E. Bogaers⁵ eine Abbildung publiziert, die es erlaubt, den Text adäquater zu rekonstruieren, zusammen mit einigen Beobachtungen, die bereits er gemacht hatte.



So zeigte er, dass nach *M(inerviae)* *P* und *E* wohl in Ligatur stehen, so dass hier *p(ia)* gelesen werden könne. Er ergänzte aber wie schon das CIL bei Caracalla die gesamte Titulatur, sogar unter Einschluss von *pont(ifex) max(imus)*. Das ist freilich im verlorenen Teil einer Inschrift problematisch; denn dort sollte nur das ergänzt werden, was der Normalität in solchen Texten entspricht, nicht aber etwas Ungewöhnliches oder sogar sachlich Falsches. Zwar wird bei Caracalla diese Bezeichnung gelegentlich bereits vor 211 angeführt, aber offiziell führte nur der Vater diesen Titel. Ob in der Titulatur von Septimius Severus nur der Oberpontifikat und die tribunizische Gewalt angeführt war, kann man bezweifeln; Imperator-Akklationen, Konsulat und pater patriae-Titel sollten eigentlich nicht fehlen; doch werden dann die Unsicherheiten über die Länge von Zeile 1 und 2 so groß, dass man die Lücke, in der vielleicht auch noch die damals üblichen Siegernamen erscheinen sollten, vorsichtshalber belassen muss.

Wichtiger ist jedoch, dass Geta, dessen Name in der vorher diskutierten Inschrift gestanden hat, hier gefehlt haben soll, obwohl derselbe Statthalter, Venidius Rufus, für die Baumaßnahme verantwortlich war. Fügt man jedoch im linken Teil von Zeile 4 den Namen Getas ein, füllt dieser perfekt die Lücke, in der Bogaers bisher die Titulatur Caracallas einschließlich des Oberpontifikats ergänzt hatte. Dass Getas Name eradiert worden ist, kann man als sicher voraussetzen, aber ebenso, dass er im Text nicht gefehlt hat. Denn es entspricht der Normalität, dass Geta neben Vater und Bruder in solchen Inschriften erscheint.

⁵ J. E. Bogaers, *Weg met Schonollen*, Westerheem 25, 1976, 229–240 = AE 1976, 518.

Noch auffälliger ist jedoch, dass beim Statthalter, dessen Name in der letzten Zeile – mit weiten Abständen zwischen den Buchstaben – geschrieben war, jeglicher Hinweis auf seine amtlichen Stellung gefehlt haben soll; das muss man ausschließen. Fügt man aber wie in der Inschrift aus Roomburg den Kurztitel *consularis* ein, der dem Statthalter offensichtlich adäquat erschien, dann wird der Platz im linken Teil von Zeile 5 bestens gefüllt, vielleicht zusammen mit *curante*.⁶ Der Text könnte dann – ohne die Unsicherheiten auf der rechten Seite zu verschweigen – in etwa so rekonstruiert werden:

[IMP CAES L SEPTIMIUS S]EVER PIVS PERT A[VG ---]
 [--- PONT] MAX TRIB POT XIII [---ET]
 [IMP CAES M AVRELLIVS A]NTONIN PIVS AV[G ---ET]
 [[[L SEPT GETA CAESAR]] P]ER MILIT LEG IMPE [F FEC ---]
 [CVRANTE COS Q V] ENID IOR V[FO ---]

Würde man die Titular von Septimius Severus in einer vollständigen Form voraussetzen, dann wäre die Bauinschrift wesentlich breiter gewesen, als dies bisher angenommen wurde. Dies ist durchaus wahrscheinlich, lässt sich aber im Detail nicht konkretisieren. So kann man den Text nur partiell verbessert rekonstruieren:

[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) L(ucius) Septimius S]ever(us) Pius Pert(inax) A[ug(ustus)--- / --- pont(ifex)] max(imus), trib(unicia) pot(estate) XIII [--- et / Imp(erator) Caes(ar) M(arcus) Aurellius A]ntonin(us) Pius Au[g(ustus) --- et / [[[L(ucius) Sept(imius) Geta Caesar]] p]er milit(es) leg(ionis) I M(inerviae) p(ia)e [f(idelis) --- fec(erunt) / curante? co(nsulari) Q(uinto) V]enidio Ru[fo ---].

Die beiden Texte machen es wahrscheinlich, dass zumindest manche Senatoren bei Inschriften, die mit ihren eigenen Baumaßnahmen in den Provinzen verbunden waren, darauf achteten, wie der Text formuliert und zumal ihre eigene Aufgabe dabei dargestellt wurde. *Consularis* war als Bezeichnung, die den Rang verdeutlichte, durchaus vorzuziehen gegenüber dem offiziellen Titel *legatus Augusti pro praetore*. Denn dieser kam jedem kaiserlichem Statthalter zu, *consularis* aber nur denen, die schon das Amt des Konsuls bekleidet hatten. Es ist vielleicht kein Zufall, dies in den beiden Inschriften in severischer Zeit zu beobachten ist. Denn damals ist in Inschriften auch zu beobachten, dass manche Senatoren betonten, sie seien *consul ordinarius* gewesen, womit sie zu der kleinen Gruppe innerhalb der Konsuln gehörten, die – im Gegensatz zu der weit größeren Zahl der jeweiligen *suffecti* – am 1. Januar ihr Amt antraten und nach denen weithin im gesamten Jahr datiert wurde.⁷ Sich von anderen fast Gleichartigen durch spezielle Titel oder Bezeichnungen abzuheben, ist ein weitverbreitetes Phänomen zumal in hierarchisch strukturierten Gesellschaften wie in Rom, aber nicht nur dort.

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⁶ Denkbar ist auch, dass außer dem Statthalter noch eine andere Person genannt war, die die eigentlichen Aufgaben vor Ort geleitet hätte, während am Ende der Statthalter nur mit *sub co(n)s(ulari)* angeführt worden war. Das muss offenbleiben.

⁷ Siehe allgemein W. Eck, *Consules ordinarii und consules suffecti als eponyme Amtsträger*. In: *Epigrafia. Actes du Colloque en mémoire de Attilio Degraffi*, Rom 1991, 15–44.

VIER DIPLOMFRAGMENTE AUS DER REGION UM DAS AUXILIARKASTELL STEIN-ST. PANTALEON IN NORICUM¹

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Abstract: Four diploma fragments from the vicinity of the auxiliary fort of Stein-St. Pantaleon in Noricum are published. One shows the governor Baius Pudens in 162, the second dates from the time of Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius, two others cannot be dated more precisely. Also mentioned is the *cohors IIII Tungrorum vexillatio*, the second part of which is stationed at the same time in Raetia. There is a discussion of the history of this unit. A *cohors II Tungrorum vexillatio*, whose unit number was restored in CIL XVI 94, never existed.

Keywords: military diplomas; *cohors IIII Tungrorum vexillatio*; Noricum; Raetia.

Zusammenfassung: Vier Diplomfragmente aus der Umgebung des Auxiliarkastells Stein-St. Pantaleon in Noricum werden publiziert. Eines zeigt den Statthalter Baius Pudens im Jahr 162, ein weiteres stammt aus der Zeit von Antoninus Pius oder Marcus Aurelius, zwei andere können nicht näher datiert werden. Genannt ist auch die *cohors IIII Tungrorum vexillatio*, deren zweiter Teil zur gleichen Zeit in Rätien steht. Diskussion der Geschichte dieser Einheit. Eine *cohors II Tungrorum vexillatio*, deren Einheitsziffer in CIL XVI 94 ergänzt wurde, hat nie existiert.

Schlüsselwörter: Militärdiplome; *cohors IIII Tungrorum vexillatio*; Noricum; Rätia.

Rezumat: Patru fragmente de diplome militare, provenind din castrul auxiliar de la Stein-St. Pantaleon, provincia Noricum, sunt publicate cu această ocazie. Un fragment îl menționează pe guvernatorul Baius Pudens din anul 162, iar al doilea datează din timpul domniei lui Antoninus Pius sau Marcus Aurelius. Celelalte două fragmente nu se pot data cu precizie. Este menționată, de asemenea, și *cohors IIII Tungrorum vexillatio*, a cărei a doua jumătate staționa în același timp în provincia Raetia. Se propune un scurt istoric al acestei trupe. O *cohors II Tungrorum vexillatio*, al cărei număr de ordine a fost întregit în CIL XVI 94, nu a existat niciodată.

Cuvinte cheie: diplome militare; *cohors IIII Tungrorum vexillatio*; Noricum; Raetia.

Vor einiger Zeit wurden uns Photos von fünf Diplomfragmenten zur Publikation zugesandt.² Die einzigen Informationen, die wir erhielten, besagten, dass die Fragmente sich in Privatbesitz befänden, aber sämtlich aus dem Umkreis des römischen Auxiliarkastells Stein-St. Pantaleon stammen sollen.³ Der Ort liegt in Niederösterreich, rund 30 km östlich

¹ Für die mehrmalige Zusendung der Diplomphotos in besserer Auflösung wird Herrn Harald Lehenbauer gedankt, ferner danken wir Bernd Steidl sowie Florian Matei-Popescu, der u.a. einen sehr wichtigen Hinweis bei der Lesung von Diplom Nr. 4 gegeben hat.

² Eine erstes Diplomfragment aus Wallsee-Sindelburg, ca. 20 km südöstlich von Stein-St. Pantaleon, wurde uns bereits früher zugesandt; siehe dazu W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Ein Diplomfragment, zurückgehend auf eine Konstitution aus dem Jahr 178 für das Heer der Provinz Noricum*, ZPE, 210, 2019, 235–238.

³ Siehe zu Ergebnissen der neuesten Ausgrabungen an diesem Ort http://sonius.at/pdf/Sonius_30_WEB.pdf (Hinweis von H. Lehenbauer).

von Linz, also in der ehemaligen römischen Provinz Noricum. Wir haben versucht, noch nähere Informationen zu erhalten, zumal zu den Maßen und zum Gewicht der Fragmente, doch diese näheren Informationen blieben leider aus. Trotz dieser etwas problematischen Voraussetzungen sollen die Fragmente, deren Lesung allein auf den Photos beruht, hier vorgelegt werden.⁴

Bei der näheren Bearbeitung der Fragmente stellte sich freilich heraus, dass eines der Fragmente offensichtlich unbeschrieben ist; jedenfalls war auf den Photos keine Schrift zu erkennen. Schließlich schien es bei der Bearbeitung zunächst, als ob zwei Fragmente (Nr. 1 und 2) zu einem Diplom gehören könnten. Denn auf der Außenseite scheinen sie sogar direkt aneinander anzuschließen. Doch ist die Schrift auf der Innenseite so verschieden, dass sie zu zwei Diplomen gehören müssen. Ob sie auf dieselbe Konstitution zurückgehen, muss man offenlassen, ausgeschlossen ist es nicht.

1. Diplom mit dem norischen Statthalter Baius Pudens wohl aus dem Jahr 162 (Abb. 1–2).

Fragment aus der Mitte der tabella I eines Diploms. Der Rand ist nirgends erhalten, obwohl es scheint, als am oberen Rand der Außenseite ein Rest der Rahmung erhalten sei; doch ist es vermutlich ein Teil des zerbrochenen Diploms, der sich dort festgesetzt hat; in welchem Zusammenhang das passierte, bleibt ungeklärt.⁵

Folgendes kann gelesen werden (Abb. 1 und 2):



1



2

⁴ Schon früher sind aus diesem Ort Diplome bekannt geworden, siehe H. Ubl, *Fragmente von drei unedierte norischen Militärdiplomen aus Stein bei St. Pantaleon, pol. Bez. Amstetten, Niederösterreich*, *RÖ* 32, 2009, 107–112.

⁵ Siehe zu einem Diplom, das offensichtlich bei einem solchen Schmelzvorgang verletzt, aber am Ende nicht eingeschmolzen wurde: W. Eck, H. Lieb, *Ein neues Militärdiplom für die Provinz Pannonia inferior aus der Zeit von Marc Aurel und Lucius Verus*, *Chiron*, 22, 1992, 227–236.

Außenseite:

[---]ACVM[---]
 [---]TONV[---]
 [---]NTE PRO[C]
 [---]EMERIT[IS---]

Innenseite:

[---] COS II DI[VI ANTONINI F DIVI HADRI]
 [ANI NEPOTES] DIV I TR[AIANI PARTHICI PRONEP]
 [ET DIVI NER]VAE A[BNEPOTES]
 [EQVITIB ET PEDITIB] QV[I MILITAVERVNT IN AL]

Die Innenseite erlaubt, das Fragment relativ präzise zu datieren. Die erhaltenen Reste zeigen, dass das Diplom auf eine Konstitution von Marc Aurel und Lucius Verus zurückgeht. Die Wortfolge *[divi Ner]vae a[bnepotes]* steht unmittelbar über der Zeile, in der auf die Soldaten mit der Formel *qu[i militaverunt]* verwiesen wird. Das erscheint in den Diplomen nur in den Jahren von 161–169. Da zudem in Zeile 1 *cos. II* als Ende der Titulatur des Verus zu lesen ist, verweist dies mit höchster Wahrscheinlichkeit auf die Jahre 161/162, ohne dass 163 völlig ausgeschlossen ist.

Auf der Innenseite ist vom Namen des Statthalters noch der Teil [---]NTE PRO[C] zu lesen. Wegen des Fundorts ist es immerhin wahrscheinlich, dass der entlassene Soldat einst in dieser Provinz gedient hat und damit ein *procurator* von Noricum im Diplom erwähnt ist. Tatsächlich kennen wir in den ersten Jahren der Samtherrschaft von Marcus und Verus einen Statthalter der Provinz, dessen Name sich mit dem Namensrest *-nte* im Ablativ verbinden lässt: Sex. Baius Pudens. Von ihm ist bekannt, dass er als ritterlicher Statthalter in den Provinzen Noricum, Raetia Vindelicia und Mauretania Caesariensis tätig war.⁶ Genauer datiert ist die Position in der nordafrikanischen Provinz, die er von 167–169 leitete.⁷ Vor Mauretania Caesariensis übernahm er das Kommando von Raetia, wo er 163/64 bezeugt ist.⁸ Damit ist seine Präsenz in Noricum im Jahr 161 oder 162 mehr als wahrscheinlich. Auf diese Weise ist auch gesichert, dass das Diplomfragment eine Kopie einer Konstitution für die Auxiliartruppen Noricums darstellt. Dies erlaubt es sodann auch, die Namensreste von zwei Einheiten zu klären. ACVM verweist wohl auf die *ala I Aug(usta) Thrac(um)*; allerdings sind auch die *coh. I Thracum* und *II Thracum* bezeugt. TONV dagegen verweist entweder auf die *cohors I Flavia Brittonum* oder die *cohors I Aelia Brittonum*, die beide zum norischen Heer gehören.⁹

Damit lässt sich der Text des Diploms, wenn man die Textreste beider Seiten einbezieht, so ergänzen:

Außenseite:

[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) M(arcus) Aurelius Antoninus Aug(ustus) pont(ifex) max(imus), trib(unicia) pot(estate) XVI/XVII, ---?, co(n)s(ul) III et Imp(erator) Caes(ar) L(ucius) Aurelius Verus Aug(ustus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) II/III, ---?, co(n)s(ul) II divi Antonini f(ilii), divi Hadriani nepotes, divi Traiani Parthici pronepotes et divi Nervae abnepotes]

⁶ CIL IX 4964 = ILS 1363.

⁷ B. E. Thomasson, *Fasti Africani*, Göteborg 1996, 203 f.

⁸ AE 1989, 579.

⁹ Siehe etwa AE 2012, 1080; 2015, 1892.

equitibus et peditibus qui militaverunt in alis ---, quae appellantur --- et I Aug(usta) Thr]a-cum [et cohortibus --- et I Flavia Brit]tonu[m oder I Aelia Brit]tonu[m (miliaria) et sunt in Norico sub Baio Pude]nte pro[c(uratore) quinque et viginti stipendiis] emerit[is dimissis honesta missione] etc.

Innenseite:

[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) M(arcus) Aurelius Antoninus Aug(ustus) pont(ifex) max(imus), trib(unicia) pot(estate) XVI/XVII, ---?, co(n)s(ul) III et Imp(erator) Caes(ar) L(ucius) Aurelius Verus Aug(ustus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) II/III, ---?,] co(n)s(ul) II di[vi Antonini fil(ii), divi Hadriani nepot(es)], divi Tr[ai]ani Parthici pronep(otes) et divi Ner]vae a[bnepotes equit(ibus) et pedit(ibus)] qu[i militaverunt in alis ---] etc.

2. Diplom für Truppen von Noricum (Abb. 3–4).

Ringsum gebrochenes Fragment aus der oberen Hälfte von tabella I eines Diploms. Während die Schrift auf der Außenseite der von Nr. 1 durchaus ähnlich zu sein scheint, ist die der Innenseite deutlich anders, wenig sorgfältig geschrieben.

Folgendes ist zu lesen (Abb. 3 und 4):¹⁰



3



4

Außenseite:

[-- BRE]VCOR ET [--]
 [----] ET II BATAV[OR]
 [∞ ET ---] M ET SVNT [IN NO]
 [RICO SVB --] PR]OC QVINQVE [ET]
 [VIGINTI STIPENDIS EMERITIS] vacat DIMISS[IS]
 [vacat ●] ● vacat
 [HONESTA MISSIONE QVORVM N]OM[INA SVBSCR]
 [IPTA SVNT CIV ROM QVI EORVM]+N+[---]

¹⁰ Soweit möglich wurde in den Lücken bereits das eingesetzt, was sich methodisch mit relativer Sicherheit ergänzen lässt.

Innenseite:

[EQVITBVS ET PEDITIBVS QVI MILITA]
 [VERVNT IN ALIS DV]ABVS Q[VAE APP I]
 [COM ∞ ET AVG THR]AC ET CO●H [---]
 [---]M ET V BREV[COR]
 [ET --- ET II]BATAVOR ∞ E[T --]
 [---]++ [--]

Das Diplom stammt frühestens aus der zweiten Hälfte der Regierungszeit des Antoninus Pius; denn der Rang des Statthalters wird erst seit dem Jahr 151/152 nach dem Namen angeführt.¹¹ Da diese hier mit *[pr]oc(uratore)* erscheint, ist in Kombination mit dem Fundort damit gesichert, dass die Konstitution mit aller Wahrscheinlichkeit für die Provinz Noricum ausgestellt worden ist. Damit stimmen auch die wenigen Angaben über die Truppen überein, die sich dem Fragment entnehmen lassen. Sicher genannt ist eine *cohors V Breucorum* und *II Batavorum miliaria*, die beide in zwei Diplomen für Noricum erscheinen, von denen das eine sicher aus dem Jahr 157 stammt, während das andere nicht eindeutig zu datieren ist, aber denselben Statthalter wie das von 157 nennt: Usenius Sabinus, *procurator*. In beiden Konstitutionen, auf die die Diplome zurückgehen, sind drei Alen eingeschlossen.¹² Doch ist kein Grund erkennbar, weshalb dieses Fragment von einer der schon bekannten Konstitutionen abhängen sollte, zumal wenn die Buchstaben, die auf der Innenseite in Zeile 2 stehen, eher als ABVS zu lesen sind, was auf die Zahl *duabus* führt, was auch eher zu dem Platz passt, der zwischen dieser Zahl und *et in coh(ortibus)* in der nächsten Zeile vorhanden ist. Für die Namen von zwei Alen dürfte der Platz reichen. Damit ist aber fast sicher, dass das Fragment einen weiteren, bisher unbekannten Bürgerrechtserlass repräsentiert, da bisher keine Konstitution für die Provinz bekannt ist, in der nur zwei Alen genannt sind; wie viele Alen es in dem Diplom Nr. 1 gewesen sind, lässt sich nicht erkennen. Ob dieser Bürgerrechtserlass eher noch in die Zeit des Pius als in die Anfangsjahre von Marc Aurel gehört und ob hier auch der Name des Baius Pudens als Statthalter genannt war, lässt sich nicht entscheiden.

Folgendes lässt sich rekonstruieren:

Außenseite:

[*Imp(erator) Caes(ar) Antoninus Pius oder vielleicht Marc Aurel und Verus*
equitibus et peditibus, qui militaverunt in alis duabus, quae appellantur I Commagen(orum)
∞ et Augusta Thrac(um) et coh(ortibus) --- V Bre]ucor(um) et [--- et ---] et II Batav[or(um)
*∞ et --- et --- et ---]*¹³ *et sunt in [Norico sub --- pr]oc(uratore) quinque et viginti stipendis*
emeritis] dimiss[is honesta missione, quorum n]om[ina subscripta sunt, civ(itatem)
Rom(anam), qui eoru]m n[on haberent, dedit/dederunt ---] etc.

¹¹ W. Eck, *Die Veränderungen in Konstitutionen und Diplomen unter Antoninus Pius*. In: M. A. Speidel, H. Lieb (Hg.), *Militärdiplome. Die Forschungsbeiträge der Berner Gespräche von 2004*, Stuttgart 2007, 87–104, hier 100.

¹² AE 2012, 1080 = W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Neue Diplomata militaria aus der Zeit von Hadrian und Antoninus Pius*, ActaMN 52, 2015, 73–84, hier 82 = AE 2015, 1892 = W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Getrenntes zusammenführen*, Zu ActaMN 52, 2015, 79 Ff. = AE 2015, 1892 und einem neuen Fragment, ZPE 214, 2020, 261–265, hier 261 ff. und 264 f.

¹³ An dieser Stelle war wohl der Beiname der Einheit voll ausgeschrieben, was aber in dem Diplom nicht generell der Fall war.

Innenseite:

[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) Antoninus Pius oder vielleicht Marc Aurel und Verus
equitibus et peditibus, qui militaverunt in alis du]abus, q[uae app(ellantur) I Com(magenorum)
∞ et Aug(usta) Thr]ac(um) et coh(ortibus) [--- et ---]m¹⁴ et V Breu[cor(um) et --- et II]
Bataavor(um) ∞ e[t ---] etc.

3. Fragment unbestimmter Zeitstellung, wohl für das Heer von Noricum (Abb. 5–6).

Fragment aus der unteren rechten Hälfte von tabella I eines Diploms; der Rand ist nirgends erhalten. Da die letzte Zeile der Außenseite mit COS endet, ist sicher, dass rechts davon bereits der Rand folgte, was umgekehrt heißt, dass auf der Innenseite unter der Zeile CVM VX[ORIBVS] wohl keine beschriebene Zeile mehr folgte, sondern nur noch ein vacat.

Folgendes ist zu lesen (Abb. 5 und 6):



5



6

Außenseite:

[] vacat []
[--- H]AB CV●[M EST]
[CIVIT IS DAT AVT SI QVI CAEL ESS CV]M● IS QV[AS]
[POSTEA DVXISS DVMTAX SINGVL SIN]GVL
[--- A D ---] vacat
[---]E COS●

Innenseite:

[---]
[MINA SVBSCRIPTA S]VNT CIV[ITATEM]
[DEDIT ET CONVIVIV]M CVM VX[ORIBVS]
[---]

¹⁴ In AE 2015, 1892, einem Diplom aus dem Jahr 157 für das Heer von Noricum, ist vor der *V Breucorum* die *I Asturum* angeführt.

Das Fragment enthält im Text keinen genaueren Hinweis zur Datierung. Zwar ist erkennbar, dass das letzte Cognomen des consul posterior im Ablativ auf -e endet. Doch Diplome, in denen [---]e co(n)s(ulibus) steht, sind zahlreich. Auch für die Truppen der Provinz Noricum, aus der das Fragment stammt, kennt man ein Diplom, dessen Konsulatsdatum im Jahr 106 n.Chr. so endet:

a(nte) [d(iem) ---] Q(uinto) Licinio Silvano Gr[aniano L(ucio) Minicio Natale co(n)s(ulibus)].¹⁵

Eine Verbindung zwischen beiden ist theoretisch möglich, aber ohne weitere Argumente zu hypothetisch, als dass man diese Namen hier einsetzen könnte. Auffällig ist, dass auf der Innenseite der Text offensichtlich bereits mit dem Textteil *cum uxoribus* endete und erst auf der Innenseite der verlorenen tabella II mit *quas tunc habuissent* weiterging. Diese Art der Textverteilung findet sich etwa ab den Jahren 130 nicht mehr; dass noch ein recht großer Teil des Privilegierungstextes auf der Innenseite II steht, weist sogar eher auf die domitianisch-traianische Zeit zurück.¹⁶ Sicher ist, dass das Diplom in die Zeit vor 140 gehört, weil der Text nur von der *civitas* spricht, nicht aber von der *civitas Romana*, wie es seit 140 üblich wurde.

Weiter lässt sich die Zeit nicht eingrenzen, so dass nur folgender Text rekonstruiert werden kann:

Außenseite:

[Imp(erator) Caesar ---

equitibus et peditibus, qui militaverunt in ---, quae appellantur --- sunt in Norico (?) sub --- quorum nomina subscripta sunt, civitatem dedit et conubium cum uxoribus, quas tunc h]a-b(uissent), cu[m est civit(as) i(i)s dat(a), aut, si qui cael(ibes) ess(ent), cu]m i(i)s, qu[as postea duxiss(ent) dumtax(at) singul(i) sin]gul(as)

[A(nte) d(iem) ---]e co(n)s(ulibus).

Innenseite:

[--- quorum nomina subscripta s]unt, civ[itatem dedit et conubiu]m cum ux[oribus, quas ---].

4. Ein Diplom für einen Veteranen der *cohors IIII Tungrorum vexillatio* (Abb. 7–8).

Zwei aneinanderpassende Fragmente aus der mittleren unteren Hälfte einer tabella I eines Diploms, auf allen Seiten abgebrochen. Die Oberflächen sind von der langen Lagerung im Boden sehr mit Sedimenten bedeckt, so dass nur auf der Außenseite etwas Sinnvolles zu entziffern ist; auf der Innenseite lassen die wenigen Zeichen, die sichtbar sind, keinen Sinn erkennen.

Folgendes ist zu lesen (Abb. 7 und 8):

¹⁵ CIL XVI 52; der zweite Name ist zwar ergänzt, aber das Konsuln paar kennen wir auch aus anderen Quellen, *Natale* ist also sicher ergänzt.

¹⁶ Siehe z. B. CIL XVI 38 aus dem Jahr 94: *eorum civitatem // dedit et conubium cum uxoribus*; CIL XVI 39 ebenfalls aus dem Jahr 94: *et vicena stipendia // aut [plu]ra mer[u]erunt item dimissis / honesta*, und zahlreiche andere wie etwa CIL XVI 36. 38. 44. 56. 62. 67. 69. 73. 161. 162.



7



8

Außenseite:

[----] ++O C[---]
 [COHORT IIII TV]NGR VEX [CVI PRAEST]
 [---] +++ +EO[---]
 [vacat]] EXEQVITE [vacat]
 [---]]+AVGVST[---]17
 [--] -]LE++ +[---]

Innenseite:

[---]++VE+[---]
 [---]++RO XX[---]
 [---]++++[---]

Erkennbar ist nur wenig. Die Reste gehören zu der Passage, in der nach der Konsulatsangabe die Einheit des Diplomempfängers steht, von der hier in Zeile 2 ein Teil des Namens lesbar ist: [---]NGR VEX [---]. Vom Namen des Präfekten in Zeile 3 ist kaum etwas zu erkennen, ob die Buchstaben +EO vermutlich schon zur origo des Kommandeurs gehören, bleibt unklar. Aber die Zeile 4 zeigt, dass ein Reiter aus der Einheit das Diplom erhalten hat; die Einheit schloss also auch Reiter ein. Der Name des Auxiliars ist weitgehend verloren.

Die Einheit, zu der der Diplomempfänger gehörte, war eine *cohors Tungrorum vexillatio*, die in der Provinz bezeugt ist; allerdings scheint die Überlieferung hinsichtlich der Ordnungszahl, die die Truppe führte, unklar zu sein. Denn einerseits findet sich die Ziffer *IIII* in mehreren Zeugnissen: In einem Diplom aus der spätdomitianischen Zeit, im Jahr 95, wird eine *IIII Tungror[um]* genannt;¹⁸ ebenso erscheint in einer Grabinschrift aus

¹⁷ Man könnte hier den Namen *Augustus* lesen, wie er auch bei Privatpersonen bezeugt ist; siehe OPEL I² 95–96 (dankenswerter Hinweis von Dan Dana) oder auch *Angustus*, der in einem neuen Diplom erscheint.

¹⁸ AE 2009, 993.

Virunum ein *miles c(o)hor(tis) IIII Tun(grorum)*.¹⁹ In einem Diplom, das zwischen 135 und 138 ausgegeben wurde, fehlt die Ziffer, der übrige Name ist aber zum Teil erhalten: [---] *Tungrorum (miliaria) vex(illatio)*.²⁰ Andererseits soll in einem Diplom aus dem Jahr 133 auch eine *cohors I Tungr(orum) (miliaria) vex(illatio)* eingeschlossen gewesen sein.²¹ Die Passage mit dieser Einheit ist auf dem Diplom so erhalten:

/ [et ---] *I Tungr(orum) (miliaria) vex(illatio)* [---] /

Da unsere Kenntnis durch die Masse der neuen Diplome über die Auxilia insgesamt und auch für fast alle Provinzen weitgehend sicher geworden ist, überrascht es, dass hier eine sonst nie bezeugte Einheit in einem Diplom für Noricum gestanden haben soll. In hadrianischer Zeit hat man zwar bisher für die Provinz nur Zeugnisse, die zeigen, dass eine *cohors Tungrorum (miliaria) vex.* hier gestanden hat; die Ziffer ist hier nicht erhalten; doch kennt man aus Rätien und später aus Mauretania Tingitana nur eine Einheit mit diesen Beinamen und mit der Ziffer IIII. Und eben eine *coh. IIII Tungrorum*, allerdings ohne Beinamen, kennt man in Noricum aus einem Diplom des Jahres 95 und aus einer Grabinschrift.²² Damit spricht alles dafür, in der Lücke vor [---] *I TVNGR* die Ziffer zu [III] *I* zu ergänzen. Nun hat man allerdings zeigen wollen, dass in dem Diplom vor *I Tungrorum* noch ein [e] *t* gestanden habe; dann wäre tatsächlich die Ergänzung zu [III] *I* ausgeschlossen.²³ In einem Aufsatz des Jahres 1952 wurde versucht zu zeigen, dass vor der Ziffer I noch der Querstrich eines T sichtbar sein. Sieht man sich allerdings das nicht sehr gute Photo in der Publikation im Beiblatt der JÖAI auf Sp. 89 f. an, dann erkennt man, dass dort wohl ein feiner Querstrich am oberen Ende der Zeile zu erkennen ist, doch er reicht bis zu der Ziffer I. In der Umzeichnung Sp. 91 f. ist der Strich nicht weit genug nach rechts gezogen, so dass ein irriger Eindruck entsteht. Dieser Zahlstrich aber ist gerade der Beweis dafür, dass I nicht zutreffen kann, dass die Ordnungsnummer der Einheit vielmehr nach links weiterging, was aus der Kenntnis über die *IIII Tungrorum* in Noricum zwingend zu der Ergänzung [III] *I* führt. Für eine *cohors I Tungrorum (miliaria) vex.* gibt es somit für Noricum keinen Beleg.

Der vollständige Name der Einheit lautete offensichtlich: *cohors IIII Tungrorum miliaria vex.*, wie er in der Mehrzahl der Zeugnisse erscheint; der letzte Teil wird generell als *vex(illatio)* aufgelöst, wobei zu fragen ist, ob die Abkürzung nicht weit eher als *vex(illariorum)* verstanden werden sollte.

Eine Auxiliartruppe mit diesem Namen ist in drei Provinzen bezeugt: in Raetia, Noricum und Mauretania Tingitana.²⁴ Die folgende Liste stellt alle Diplome für die vierte Kohorte der Tungrer zusammen. Sie zeigt zum einen die zeitliche Verteilung, sie lässt aber

¹⁹ AE 1982, 755.

²⁰ RMD II 93 = RMD III p. 245.

²¹ CIL XVI 174; siehe im Folgenden.

²² AE 2009, 993; 1982, 755.

²³ Siehe J. Ott, *Die norischen Militärdiplome und ein neuer Statthalter der Provinz*, Riv. Storica dell' Antichità 25, 1995, 98 ff. (= AE 1995, 1222) mit Berufung auf H. Thaller, *Fragment eines Militärdiploms von Mautern a.d.D.*, JÖAI 39, 1952, Beibl. 87–96 = AE 1953, 128. Es soll der Querstrich eines T sichtbar sein. Die Zeichnung in CIL XVI, die auch Ott S. 108 wiedergibt, zeigt davon nichts.

²⁴ In der Liste werden die Namen so wiedergegeben, wie sie in den Publikationen erscheinen, auch als *vex(illatio)*. Wichtig ist für Noricum auch die Grabinschrift aus Virunum, AE 1982, 755: *Iomatio Velsonis f(ilio) mil(iti) c(o)hor(tis) IIII Tun(grorum) stip(endiorum) XXXIII Firminae f(iliae) a(nnorum) III f(ili) fac(iendum) cur(averunt)*.

auch erkennen, dass offensichtlich in den Listen, die aus den jeweiligen Statthalterbüros nach Rom gesandt und von der dortigen Verwaltung in den Text der Konstitutionen übernommen wurden, die Ziffer für die Tungri in Noricum und Raetia einheitlich als *IIII* gestanden hat, während in Mauretania Tingitana ebenso einheitlich die Ziffer als *IV* geschrieben wurde; die einzige Variante in XVI 181, nämlich einmal *IV* und einmal *IIII* ist nur durch eine Unachtsamkeit beim Gravieren des Diploms in Rom entstanden.

Beleg	Zeit	Bezeichnung	Provinz
AE 2009, 993	95	[et] <i>IIII</i> Tungror[um] ²⁵	Noricum
CIL XVI 174	133	[<i>IIII</i>]I ²⁶ Tungr(orum) (miliaria) vex(illatio)	Noricum
RMD II 93 = RMD III p. 245	135–138	[<i>IIII</i>] Tung(rorum) (miliaria) [vex(illatio) e]t	Noricum
RMD I 25 = E 1978, 591	121–132	<i>intus</i> : [<i>IIII</i> Tung]r(orum) (miliaria) vex(illatio) <i>extrinsecus</i> : <i>IIII</i> Tung[rorum]	Raetia
BVb. 2021, 59	126 / 127	<i>IIII</i> Tungror(um) (miliaria) vex(illatio)	Raetia
RMD IV 243	129	<i>IIII</i> T[ungror(um) (miliaria) vexil(latio)]	Raetia
AE 2005, 1149	128/133	[<i>IIII</i> Tungror(um) (miliaria) vex(illatio)]	Raetia
AE 2005, 1150	128/133	[<i>IIII</i> Tung(rorum) (miliaria) vex(illatio)]	Raetia
RMD II 94 = AE 1984, 706	138/140	<i>IIII</i> Tung(rorum)] (miliariae) [ve]xil(latio)	Raetia
RMD V 386	139	<i>III<I></i> Tun(grorum) (miliariae) vex(illatio)	Raetia
AE 2014, 971	139	[<i>IIII</i>] Tun(grorum) (miliaria) vex(illatio)	Raetia
RMD IV 261	139	[<i>IIII</i> Tun(grorum) (miliaria) vex(illatio)]	Raetia
RMD III 166	140 / 147	[<i>IIII</i> Tung(rorum) (miliaria)] vex(illatio)	Raetia
CIL XVI 94	146	?[<i>IIII</i> Tun]gror(um) (miliaria) vexi[l(latio)] ²⁷	Raetia
RMD V 411	153	<i>IV</i> Tungr(orum) vexil(latio)	Mauret. Tingitana
RMD V 409	153	<i>IV</i> Tungror(um) vexil(latio)	Mauret. Tingitana
RMD V 410	153	<i>IV</i> Tungr(orum) v[ex(illatio)]	Mauret. Tingitana
RGZM 34	153	<i>IV</i> Tungr(orum) vexil(latio)	Mauret. Tingitana
AE 2005, 1726	153	<i>IV</i> Tungror(um) vexil(latio)	Mauret. Tingitana
ZPE 153, 2005, 202	153	<i>IV</i> Tungr(orum) v[exil(latio)]	Mauret. Tingitana
AE 2007, 1776	153	<i>IV</i> Tung]r(orum) vexil(latio)	Mauret. Tingitana
AE 2007, 1777	153	[<i>IV</i> Tungr(orum) vex(illatio)]	Mauret. Tingitana
AE 2007, 1779	153	<i>IV</i> Tungr(orum)] vex(illatio)	Mauret. Tingitana
AE 2009, 1834	153	[<i>IV</i> Tungr(orum) vex(illatio)]	Mauret. Tingitana
ZPE 197, 2016, 243	153	[<i>IV</i> Tungr(orum) vex(illatio)]	Mauret. Tingitana
AE 2016, 2004	153?	[<i>IV</i> Tungr(orum) vex(illatio)]	Mauret. Tingitana

²⁵ Vermutlich stand auch im verlorenen Teil der Zeile nach *IIII* Tungror[um] noch (miliaria) oder zumindest ∞.

²⁶ Siehe oben im Text zur Frage der Ziffer der Einheit.

²⁷ Siehe dazu unten die Appendix.

ZPE 217, 2021, 195	153	IV Tungror(um) vexill(atio)	Mauret. Tingitana
RMD V 411	156/161	[IV Tung(rorum) vexil(latio)]	Mauret. Tingitana
CIL XVI 181	156/7	IIII/IV Tungr(orum) vexil(latio)	Mauret. Tingitana
CIL XVI 182	156/7	IV [Tungr(orum) vex(illatio)]	Mauret. Tingitana
RMD II 107	161	IV T[ungror(um) vexillatio]	Mauret. Tingitana
RMD I 48	Pius	IV Tungror(um)	Mauret. Tingitana
RMD III 186 = AE 1992, 1942	nach 162	IV Tungror(um) mil{l}(iaria)	Mauret. Tingitana

Vergleicht man die Diplome nach den Ausgabedaten, dann ergibt sich eine klare zeitliche Trennung: alle Zeugnisse aus Raetia und Noricum gehören in die hadrianische Zeit, mit Ausnahme eines einzigen aus Noricum, das bereits aus dem Jahr 95 stammt; dagegen beginnen die Zeugnisse in Mauretania Tingitana im Jahr 153 und enden unter Marc Aurel. Das lässt erkennen, dass die Einheit wohl zu den Truppenteilen gehörte, die unter Pius sukzessive nach Mauretanien versetzt wurden, weil die aufständischen Bewegungen in der Provinz immer heftiger wurden, weshalb Pius nicht wenige Truppen vor allem aus dem Donauraum, aber am Ende auch aus Britannien dorthin gesandt hat.²⁸ Diese Abordnung dauerte für die meisten Einheiten nur einige Jahre; aber die *IIII Tungrorum* blieb offensichtlich auf Dauer in der nordafrikanischen Provinz.

Auffällig war von Anfang an, dass eine Truppe mit diesem Namen gleichzeitig in Raetia und Noricum dokumentiert ist. Fast alle Diplome für Raetia und Noricum wurden unter Hadrian ausgestellt, in Rätien bis in die ersten Jahre des Pius. Verständlich wird die Zugehörigkeit eines jeweils gleich benannten Teils dieser Truppe zu zwei verschiedenen Heeresgruppen wohl nur, wenn man davon ausgeht, dass die Einheit ursprünglich zusammen in einer Provinz lag, bevor sie auf das Heer der beiden benachbarten Provinzen aufgeteilt worden ist, was mit *vex(illatio)*²⁹ angezeigt ist. Es lässt sich zeigen, dass sie zunächst in Noricum gestanden hat; denn nach der frühesten Nennung in einem Diplom des Jahres 95 ist sie für diese Provinz bezeugt.³⁰ Das Diplom stammt ebenfalls wie die hier publizierten aus Stein-St. Pantaleon, von wo auch schon andere Diplome bekannt sind.³¹ Unklar bleibt, ob sie damals bereits eine *miliaria* war; im Text dieses Diploms kann jedenfalls das Zeichen ∞ für *miliaria* nicht gestanden haben, dazu fehlt der Platz. Das aber gilt, was noch wichtiger ist, auch für den Zusatz *vex.*; er kann nach IIII TVNGRO[RVM] / nicht ergänzt werden und auch nicht in der darauffolgenden Zeile. Die Einheit hieß somit in der spätdomitianischen Zeit einfach *cohors IIII Tungrorum*. Daraus darf man schließen, dass sie zuerst allein zum Heer der Provinz Noricum gehörte und erst zu einem späteren, bisher nicht zu bestimmenden Zeitpunkt ein Teil, eine *vexillatio*, in die benachbarte Provinz Raetia versetzt wurde.

²⁸ W. Eck, A. Pangerl, *Eine Konstitution aus dem Jahr 152(?) für niedermösische und britannische Truppen, abgeordnet nach Mauretania Tingitana, mit einer Appendix von Paul Holder*, ZPE 199, 2016, 187–201.

²⁹ Oder eher *vex(illariorum)*?

³⁰ AE 2009, 993.

³¹ H. Ubl, *Fragmente von drei unedierten norischen Militärdiplomen aus Stein bei St. Pantaleon*, Pol. Bezirk Amstetten, Niederösterreich, Römisches Österreich 32, 2009, 107–121 = AE 2009, 993–995.

Dieses Fragment ist das einzige der vier neuen, in dem erkennbar ist, welcher Einheit der Veteran einst angehört hatte. Da es die *cohors IIII Tungrorum* ist, liegt es nahe anzunehmen, dass er sich nach der Entlassung an seinem Einsatzort niedergelassen hatte, weshalb auch sein Diplom an diesem Ort geblieben ist. Das ist durchaus möglich, wäre allerdings als Grund bei einem vollständigen Diplom oder zumindest einer vollständigen Tafel noch wahrscheinlicher. Fragmente können leichter wandern oder können nach einer „Wanderung“ leichter anderswo verloren gehen. Ein Veteran, dessen Diplom aus dem Jahr 95 stammt und ebenfalls bei dem Kastell Stein-St. Pantaleon gefunden wurde, gehörte der *cohors I Flavia Brittonum* an.³² Wenn beide Dokumente einen Hinweis auf die Besetzung des Kastells geben, würde dies einen Wechsel von der *I Flavia Brittonum* zur *IIII Tungrorum* andeuten. Beides muss freilich vorerst eine Hypothese bleiben.

Das neue Fragment mit der Nennung dieser Einheit, gibt keinen klaren Hinweis auf die Zeit der Ausstellung. Das Diplom wurde aber sicher noch in der Zeit vor dem Transfer der Einheit nach Mauretania Tingitana ausgestellt.

Nur der kurze folgende Text kann rekonstruiert werden:

[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) ---

(A(nte) d(iem) --- / ---]o C[--- co(n)s(ulibus) / cohort(is) IIII Tu]ngr(orum) vex(illatio), [cui praest / ---]+ EO[---] / exequite / [---]++August[o?--- / ---]LE+++[---/ ---].

Appendix:

In Raetia soll auch eine *cohors II Tungrorum (miliaria) vex(illatio)* gestanden haben.³³ Zum einen soll sie in CIL XVI 94 aus dem Jahr 147 in der Liste der Kohorten, die in dem Diplom bezeugt sind, genannt sein. Diese Liste lautet in der bisherigen Rekonstruktion:

[I Fl(avia) Canath(enorum) (miliaria) et I Breucor(um)] / et I et II Rae[tor(um) et II Aquitan(orum) et II Tun]gr(orum) (miliaria) vexi[llatio et III Bracar(augustanorum) et III Thr(acum)] / vet(erana) et III Thr(acum) c(ivium) R(omanorum) [et III Brit(annorum) et IV Gal]/lor(um) et V Bracara[ug(ustanorum) et VI Lusitan(orum) et] / VIII Batavor(um).

Dass dort eine Einheit von Tungri angeführt wird, ist sicher; und sie führt auch die Bezeichnungen *miliaria* und *vexi[llatio]*, wie wir sie bei der *cohors IIII Tungrorum* kennen. Allerdings wurde in CIL XVI 94 die Zahl II ergänzt, sie ist nicht erhalten.

Diese sonst nicht bezeugte Einheit *II Tungrorum* ist auch in ein Diplom aus Quintiana zwischen 140 und 147 eingegangen, in der folgenden Passage (RMD III 166):³⁴

[et I Flav(ia) Canath(enorum) (miliaria) et I] B[r]eu(corum) c(ivium) R(omanorum) / [et I et II Raet(orum) et II Tun]gr(orum) (miliaria) vex(illatio) et II Aquit[a]n(orum) et / [III Brac(augustanorum) et III Thrac(um) vet(erana) et III T]hr[ac(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum)] / [et III Brit(annorum) et IV Gall(orum) et IV Tung(rorum) (miliaria)] vex(illatio).

³² AE 2009, 993.

³³ I. G. Farkas, *The dislocation of the Roman army in Raetia*, Oxford 2015, behandelt 167–171 auch die Tungri in Rätien. Die *cohors II Tungrorum* existiert für ihn, doch alles was er ausbreitet, ist methodisch schlichtweg falsch und unbrauchbar.

³⁴ In der Erstpublikation von K.-H. Dietz in den Bayer. Vorgeschichtsblättern 53, 1988, 146–152 stand die *II Tungrorum* noch nicht in der Liste (siehe auch AE 1988, 903); sie wurde aber dann von M. Roxan in RMD III 166 auf Grund einer Rekonstruktion von Hartmut Wolff, Bayrische Grenzmarken 3, 1993, 20 als alternative Möglichkeit angeführt und so auch in die Datenbank EDCS und EDH übernommen.

Hier ist allerdings vom Namen der *II Tungrorum miliaria* überhaupt nichts erhalten, sie wurde an dieser Stelle, da in CIL XVI 94 „genannt“, übernommen. Dass in diesem Diplom eine *cohors Tungrorum* genannt war, ist sicher; doch das war die *IIII Tungrorum*, von deren vollständigem Namen am Ende noch *vex(illatio)*, das letzte Element der vollen Bezeichnung zu lesen ist. Die angebliche *II Tungrorum* aber ist vollständig ergänzt, nur auf Grund der Rekonstruktion in CIL XVI 94. Damit scheidet dieses Diplom aus der Diskussion aus.

In CIL XVI 94 ist dagegen die Nennung einer *cohors Tungrorum* mit dem üblichen Zusatz *miliaria* und *vex.* bezeugt. Dass die Ziffer *II* ergänzt wurde, liegt an dem allgemeinen, aus vielen Diplomen bekannten Prinzip, dass in bestimmten Provinzen (keineswegs in allen) die Einheiten üblicherweise entsprechend ihrer Ordnungszahl in der Liste angeordnet sind. In CIL XVI 94 lautet die entsprechende Passage so: *et I et II Rae[tor(um)] et II Aquitan(or)um et II Tun]/gror(um) (miliaria) vexi[llatio et III Bracar(augustanorum) et III Thr(acum)] / vet(erana) et III Thr(acum) c(ivium) R(omanorum)*. D. h. eine *cohors [Tun]/gror(um) (miliaria) vexi[llatio]* steht zwischen den im Diplom erhaltenen Teilen *I et II Rae[tor(um)] ...* und *... III Thr(acum) c(ivium) R(omanorum)*. Geht man von dem genannten Prinzip aus, führt das natürlich zur Ziffer *II* bei den Tungri, doch es könnte logischerweise auch die Ziffer *III* sein, was aber bisher niemand erwogen hat. Doch darf dabei nicht vergessen werden, dass diese Ziffer – ob nun *II* oder *III* – in einer Lücke steht, also nicht bezeugt ist. Wenn aber hier logische Argumente zu einem Ergebnis führen, dem die **gesamte sonstige Überlieferung** widerspricht, dann ist zu fragen, ob das Ergebnis der Logik akzeptiert werden kann. Zum einen können auch bei der Reihung nach den Ziffern Fehler entstehen, so dass die zutreffende Reihenfolge nicht absolut eingehalten wird. So erscheint in den Diplomen für Rätien die *ala II Fl(avia) (miliaria) p(ia) f(idelis)* manchmal in der numerischen richtigen Abfolge nach zwei Alen mit der Ziffer *I*,³⁵ einige Male aber auch an erster Stelle vor den mit der Ziffer *I*, was man mit dem höheren Gewicht der *Miliaria*-Einheit erklären kann; das numerische Prinzip wird hier jedenfalls nicht beachtet.³⁶ Solche Nichtbeachtung der numerischen Reihung findet sich auch für andere Provinzen.³⁷ Eine besonders deutliche Abweichung vom numerischen System findet sich etwa in einem Diplom für Moesia superior aus dem Jahr 157: *coh(ortibus) X V Gall(or)um Pannon(ica?) / et V Hispan(or)um et I Mont(anorum) et I Antioch(ensium) sag(ittaria) / et I Cretum sag(ittaria) et II(I) Campestr(is) c(ivium) R(omanorum) / et II Gallor(um) Pannon(ica) et III Britt(onum) vet(erana) / et I Lusit(anorum) et I Pannon(iorum) vet(erana)*.³⁸ Worauf solche Fehler(?) oder Abweichungen zurückzuführen sind, lässt sich nicht sagen. Solche Variabilitäten aber sind in Diplomen nicht selten, wobei es nicht um simple Schreibfehler geht, sondern um ganze Passagen, die z.B. in Diplomen doppelt erscheinen, wie in RMD V 404: *quae ap(p)el(lantur) Gall(or)um et Pann(oniorum) et {Gal(lorum) et Pan(noniorum)}*. In RGZM 33 wurde zunächst der Herkunftsort eines Veteranen mit *{Marcia(nopoli)}* angegeben, dann aber durchgestrichen und mit Tinte *Philipp(is)* darübergeschrieben. In AE 1818, 1994 wird der *cohors III Campestris* noch der weitere Name *{Sectoriana}* gegeben,

³⁵ Siehe etwa CIL XVI 55; RMD III 170.

³⁶ Z. B. RMD II 94; RGZM 38.

³⁷ Siehe etwa RMD IV 294.

³⁸ RGZM 37.

und zwar auf beiden Seiten; das heißt, dieser falsche Zusatz muss in der Vorlage gestanden haben, die das Büro (des *ab epistulis*) erstellte und an den Unternehmer weitergab, der die Diplome herzustellen hatte. Solche Unregelmäßigkeiten oder Fehler sind also nicht nur auf die Hersteller der Diplome zurückzuführen; auch der bürokratische Apparat konnte sich irren oder unaufmerksam sein.

Bedenkt man dies, dann ist klar, dass in CIL XVI 94 eine Anormalität vorliegt, weshalb eine Einheit der Tungri, die in Rätien in sieben Diplomen als *IIII Tungrorum miliaria vex.* mit vollständigem Namen oder partiell bezeugt ist, hier an einer Stelle erwähnt ist, an der sie normalerweise nicht steht. Welche Ziffer in der Lücke vor *Tungrorum* wirklich stand, kann nicht sicher gesagt werden; es ist nicht einmal ausgeschlossen, dass dort eine *II* oder vielleicht auch *III* eingefügt worden ist. Doch dies kann bei unserer inzwischen sehr dichten Überlieferung nicht zu der Schlussfolgerung führen, dass eine Einheit mit dieser Ziffer in der militärischen Realität der Provinz auch existiert hat. Die einzigen möglichen Schlussfolgerungen sind vielmehr, dass in CIL XVI 94 entweder die übliche Reihenfolge nicht eingehalten wurde, oder dass dort eine falsche Ziffer gestanden hat. Eine **neue Einheit** aber kann daraus nicht kreiert werden – jedenfalls nicht beim jetzigen Stand unserer Dokumentation zu den Diplomen, die gegenüber dem Jahr 1935, als der erste Band von CIL XVI erschien, sich fast verzehnfacht hat. Wir dürfen also davon ausgehen, dass in Raetia nur eine *cohors IIII Tungrorum miliaria (vex.)* Teil des Provinzheeres gewesen ist.

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DREAMED – BUT LIVED – ANCIENT RELIGIONS IN ROMAN DACIA. RELIGIOUS COMMUNICATION AND SPECIALIZATION CONCERNING DREAMING

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Abstract: Under the play on words of the title of this article, we make a study for the case of Roman Dacia concerning the forms of religious communication and mediation with the divine by specialists in the interpretation of dreams, from the LAR perspective (Lived Ancient Religion). This is consistent with following the new trends in the historiography of Roman religious studies, focusing primarily on atomising religious experience. The observed forms of religious communication through dreams and the strategies employed for their maintenance, such as the sacralization of space and the fostering of collaboration between groups and individuals, lead us to be able to appreciate in greater depth the richness and complexity of the provincial religious life of Roman Dacia.

Keywords: dreams; religious communication; dreams interpretation; space sacralization; religious individuation.

Rezumat: Jocul de cuvinte din titlul articolului acoperă un studiu de caz din Dacia romană privind formele comunicării religioase și a medierii cu divinul practicate de specialiștii în interpretarea viselor, din perspectiva LAR (Lived Ancient Religion/ Religia Antică Trăită). Acesta urmează noile tendințe din istoriografia studiului religiei romane antice, centrat în primul rând pe atomizarea experienței religioase. Formele observate de comunicare religioasă prin vise și strategiile folosite pentru întreținerea lor, cât și sacralizarea spațiului, încurajarea colaborării între grupuri și indivizi ne permit să apreciem în profunzime bogăția și complexitatea vieții religioase din provincia Dacia.

Cuvinte cheie: vise; comunicare religioasă; interpretarea viselor; sacralizarea spațiului; individualizare religioasă.

¿Qué es la vida? Un frenesí.
¿Qué es la vida? Una ilusión,
una sombra, una ficción,
y el mayor bien es pequeño:
que toda la vida es sueño,
y los sueños, sueños son.

Calderón de la Barca
La vida es sueño, 1635.¹

¹ Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Life is a dream* (Close of Act II), 1635: “What is life? ‘Tis but a madness. What is life? A thing that seems, A mirage that falsely gleams, Phantom joy, delusive rest, Since is life a dream at best, And even dreams themselves are dreams”.

The study of dreams and their interpretation in the classical world has long been and continues to be a very relevant subject for historians of Antiquity. Of course, the approaches of such studies have changed over time. We could begin by mentioning the classic study of Auguste Bouché-Leclercq at the end of the 19th century, to continue in the following century with those of J. Pley, K. Latte, H. Kenner, E. R. Dodds, D. Del Corno, J. S. Hanson, or Jacques Le Goff, among others.² Some works have set their sights on related topics such as the content of dreams collected in literary sources, with their circumstances,³ the study of ancient dream books,⁴ the relationship between divinities and dream experiences in the epigraphic register or in papyri,⁵ the role of dreams in Greek and Roman religion, both in general and in terms of individual cults,⁶ or attitudes in relation to the reliability of dreams.⁷ To a much lesser extent and more recently, research has begun to focus on what extent the interpretation of dreams played a role in the religious practices of Greeks and Romans, both in the public and private spheres,⁸ and what importance religious specialists may have had in the interpretation of dreams.⁹

In Classical Antiquity, dreams and their interpretation were of great importance, something attested by the abundant literature on the classification of the different types of dreams and on their interpretation. Naturally, the first classification was based on the difference between dreams that had a meaning and those that did not. Obviously, it is the first which are susceptible to an interpretation and among them were visions, symbolic dreams and oracular dreams. Visions were the more or less vague representations of an event that was to happen later. Symbolic dreams contained some kind of riddle and necessarily required help in order to be correctly interpreted. As for those of the oracular type, they were one of the most widespread forms of communication with the divine in classical times and were characterized by the intervention of a dreamlike figure in the dream of an individual, this being a respected character, a *daimon* or even a god, who gave advice, a prophecy or an order or, on the contrary, intended to annoy or bother the dreamer with a false message or prophecy.¹⁰

² Bouché-Leclercq 1879, RE IX, 18, Stuttgart 1916, s.v. *Incubatio*, col. 1256–1262 (J. Pley); RE XVIII, 1, Stuttgart, 1939, s.v. *Orakel*, col. 861–866 (K. Latte); RE XVIII, 1, Stuttgart 1939, s.v. *Oneiros* col. 448–459 (H. Kenner); Dodds 1951; Lewis 1976; Del Corno 1978; Hanson 1980; Le Goff 1985.

³ For the dreams of emperors, see Weber 2000. About poetry, Walde 2001. In theatrical production, Devereux 1976. For dreams in Apuleius, Hidalgo de la Vega 1992; Hunink 2006. In Cassius Dio, Gascó 1985. In Aristotle, Gallop 1996. In Aelius Aristides, Behr 1968; Cortés Copete 2002; Israelowich 2012. In general, see also Scioli, Walde 2010.

⁴ Especially, Artemidorus' *Oneirocritica*. Harris-McCoy 2012; du Bouchet, Chandezon 2012; Weber 2015. See also Del Corno 1969; recently, Lipka 2022.

⁵ The first catalog, with up to 1300–1400 Greek and Latin dedicatory inscriptions, will be Renberg forthcoming a, with a complementary, more synthetic work, Renberg forthcoming b. Numerous *viso/iussu* inscriptions (989) are also discussed in Renberg 2017. Older, Van Straten 1976; Gramaglia 1989; Veyne 1986; Weber 2000; Weber 2005–2006; Kajava 2009. They discuss inscriptions of this kind and quote a significant number, but they do not catalog them. For particular regions, Fernández Fuster 1950 (Hispania); Burnelli 2002 (Gallia Cisalpina); Belfaidi 2012 (North Africa); and Zugravu 1997; Zugravu 2004–2005, and Carbó García 2011 (Dacia).

⁶ Harris 2009; Kajava 2009; Renberg 2010; Weber 2005–2006; Renberg 2017; Renberg 2018.

⁷ Harris 2003; Harris 2009.

⁸ Holowchak 2002; Näf 2004; Harris 2009, 134–139; Renberg 2015.

⁹ Szabó 2018, 73–78.

¹⁰ Fernández López, Prieto Fernández 1992, 205.

In this sense, we find ourselves in the field of epiphanies, an extensive and relevant aspect of religious experience with special significance. They represent direct and intense contacts with the divine presence, in which both divine agency and human agency are equally present.¹¹ Its temporal aspect, emphasizing the “now” and the immediate, produces an intensification of the sensory and cognitive aspects of religious experiences among which would be the direct interventions of the gods, such as in dreams.¹²

Dreams were representations of existing beliefs in society and they changed along with these. In the Roman imperial era, when society progressively aspired to a religion of a more personal type and to a more mystical religious experience, divine revelation through dreams would be almost indispensable, practically an obligation, being considered as a kind of reward to the morality evident in the life of the dreamer. All this comes to explain a part of the attractiveness of cults such as the Isiac cult, which offered precisely a more direct, more personal relationship with the divinity. In their symbolic universe, dreams represented the demonic mediation between the divinity and the initiates, so that they constituted the vehicle by which they received the advice and orders that they had to follow and fulfil to obtain the salvation that union with the divinity supposed.¹³

As we have said, the samples of divine commands expressed in oracular dreams were a very frequent type at that time, with numerous testimonies in literature and in epigraphic monuments about religious acts performed “by the order of the god” or “by the command of the god during a dream”.¹⁴ These were dreams sent by the gods –sometimes through intermediaries, such as those characters or *daimones* that we have just mentioned – who used them to give orders to the dreamer. Those divine commands expressed in dreams or through oracles might need interpretation by a specialist.¹⁵ Are there reasons to think that the priests of the different cults would appropriate the interpretative functions of dreams, thereby establishing an effective mechanism of control over the worshippers of the cult?¹⁶

Certainly, there is abundant evidence of the presence of specialists in the interpretation of dreams both in ancient literature and in the epigraphic and papyrological record.¹⁷ The Romans did not have a specific way to designate those specialists in the interpretation of dreams, but simply alluded to such an ability: *interpretes somniorum* and *coniectores somniorum*.

¹¹ Today, the definition of “epiphany” continues to raise a terminological problem and a historiographical question. In this regard, Georgia Petridou defines it as a ‘manifestation of a deity to an individual or a group of people in sleep or in a waking reality, in a crisis or cult context’. Petridou 2015, 2.

¹² See Lipka 2022.

¹³ Hidalgo de la Vega 1992, 175, 199.

¹⁴ Socrates himself said: ‘But, as I believe, I have been commanded to do this by the God through oracles and dreams and in every way in which any man was ever commanded by divine power to do anything whatsoever’, as collected by Plato (Plat. *Apol.* 33c). See note 3.

¹⁵ Hippoc. *Per. dia.* IV, 87 ss.: he said that divine dreams required interpreters, who possessed the art of dealing with such things.

¹⁶ Faced with this way of mediating communication with the divinity, magic could also serve as a mediation, being one of the fundamental enemies of the Greco-Roman sacrificial system, since the magi perverted the sacrificial code for their own evil ends and were an example of the chaos that would result from the disappearance of the religious role of the emperor, guarantor of the social, political and religious order. Gordon 1990, 253–254.

¹⁷ To this end, see Renberg 2015.

On the other hand, there are no signs of an established and recognized formal role for dream interpreters in the context of Greek and Roman cults. And, although the existence of informal consultations with priests of the different cults cannot be ruled out in any case, Renberg points out that it seems that the dreamers themselves or someone related to them could have interpreted the dreams linked to religious aspects which could require some type of interpretation. From the written and visual evidence, it does not appear that worshipers, when faced with questions of the religious realm, consulted specialists in the interpretation of dreams routinely.¹⁸

However, numerous sources give an account of the presence of dream interpreters in specific sanctuaries, although there seems to be no relationship between them, and rather we could think that these specialists chose these places to offer themselves and, of course, be available to all those who needed or could believe that they needed their services.¹⁹ In fact, literary sources do not show dream interpreters or diviners specializing in the interpretation of dreams serving the gods in their sanctuaries, but this only appears in epigraphic and papyrological sources. The problem is that these documentary sources correspond exclusively to the Isiac cult, rather than to the traditional Greco-Roman cults.²⁰

There are no testimonies of dreamlike practices in relation to the Isiac cult in the Dacian provinces. However, from there we have received probably the only epigraphic testimony outside that realm that establishes a direct relationship between specialists in the interpretation of dreams and a specific cult activity.²¹

It is a large, fragmentary votive altar dedicated to Liber Pater by the prefect of the cohort IIII Hispanorum equitata in his *villa rustica*, located southeast of the fort, in the nowadays village of Inlăceni (Harghita County), in ancient Dacia Superior:²²

*Libero Pa[t]/ri Deo P(ublius) Di[dius] / Italicus [praef(ectus)] / coh(ortis) IIII
Hi[sp(anorum) eq(uitatae)] / secund[um] / interpre[tati]/onem so[mni]/orum se [---] / in
tabula[rio? vo]/tum cum v[ovit?].*

¹⁸ Renberg 2015, 235.

¹⁹ Renberg 2015, 239.

²⁰ Harris 2009, 135–136; Vinagre Lobo 2000. See also Renberg 2017, Appendix on Dream-interpreters and Incubation at Egyptian Sanctuaries.

²¹ In this study, we deal with religious communication and specialization concerning dreaming in Roman Dacia, so we present some useful examples to illustrate the studied aspects, most of which come from the provincial capital in Apulum to get a local focus on sacralization of space and religious communication. It is neither our aim nor our intention to make a repertoire of inscriptions concerning dreams in Roman Dacia with an in-depth analysis of all of them, a study which, on the other hand, has been already developed by Nelu Zugravu and other authors mentioned below. The role of the sacralization of space, from the LAR perspective (“Lived Ancient Religion”), emerged from the research group of the University of Erfurt led by Jörg Rüpke, with the European project *Lived Ancient Religion; Questioning “cults” and “polis religion”* of the University of Erfurt, within the framework of the research group “Religious individualization in historical perspective”. This perspective puts the focus on key theoretical notions such as “sacralization of space”, “religious appropriation”, “religious individualization”, “group identities” and “strategies for the maintenance of religious communication”, which are some of those introduced in this new LAR school. The “sacralization of space” would be defined as a spatial strategy of religious communication between humans and superhuman divine agents. Csaba Szabó has been the researcher who first introduced these notions in the studies on religion in Roman Dacia, but they have yet to gradually make their way into the Romanian literature of the specialty. See especially Szabó 2018.

²² IDR III/4, 284.

This inscription is the only one that uses the expression *secundum interpretationem somniorum*, to refer to the dedication of an altar made because of the interpretation of some dream.²³ Of course, the epigraphic record throughout the Empire shows that it was quite common for dedicants to different gods to express that those same dedications or some other religious activity that they also recorded in their inscriptions were due to a dream that had impelled them to do them.²⁴ The usual formulas in Latin were those of *ex viso / visu*, while in Greek we can find κατ' ὄνειρον, καθ' ὄραμα, κατ' ἐνύπνιον, καθ' ὕπνον, or κατ' ὄναρ; all of them have the meaning of “according to a dream” or “in compliance with a dream”, expressions of oracular dreams, then. In Dacia, the most common Latin formula, *ex viso / visu*, appears in more than thirty cases, but we can also detect other formulas, both in Latin and Greek: *ex praecepto*, *ex imperio*, *iusso dei*, *ex iussu dei*, *a deo iussus*, *somno monitus*, *signum numinis*, ἐξ ἐπιταγῆς.²⁵

The terms used in the epigraphic record to refer to the commandments during dreams could be ambiguous, according to Renberg, who pointed out that the distinctions between them are not as clear as some modern scholars have considered. But the prefect Publius Didius Italicus, who is known by another inscription of Inlăceni,²⁶ with a typically Roman name, seems to have deliberately chosen such a specific expression, unlike what might have happened with someone unaware of the Roman epigraphic tradition or with customs typical of another culture.²⁷

Despite this, the exact nature of the form of interpretation of the dream is uncertain. The aforementioned ambiguity of some formulas, whose relationship with dreams is almost unquestionable, such as ἐπιταγή, which could perfectly refer to an oracle, together with the vagueness of some references, does not demonstrate, however, an ambiguity of the experiences of the dedicant. But ambiguity or ambivalence should perhaps be related above all to the epigraphic conventions in use, as Fassa has pointed out.²⁸

And yet, in the inscription of Inlăceni, since the divinity receiving the dedication was Liber Pater, it is difficult to think of a priest or temple staff at the service of the god with attributions or concrete experience in the interpretation of dreams. It is much more likely that Italicus consulted a diviner with experience in dream interpretation, especially if some kind of “dream-interpretation tablet” came into play in the process. Renberg even points out the possibility that this interpreter could have been some amateur, some friend or comrade with experience, and even the prefect himself, interpreting his own dream, and affirms that this would have been the case of a good part of the more than four hundred dedicants of inscriptions referring to dreams, who did not consider it necessary to specify that they

²³ The formula *secundum interpretationem* also appears in inscriptions with a context of oracular interpretation, as in the case of an inscription from Corninium, Dalmatia, in which we read *secundum interpretationem Clarii Apollinis* (CIL III 2880 = ILS 3230a), or in another from Housesteads, Britannia dedicated to the gods and goddesses: *Dis Deabusque secundum interpretationem oraculi Clari Apollinis coh(ors) I Tungrorum* (CIL VII 633 = ILS 3230 = RIB I 1579). See Nemeti 2012b.

²⁴ In this sense, more than 400 inscriptions in Greek and Latin are preserved with testimonies of these mentions. Renberg forthcoming a.

²⁵ Zugravu 1997; Zugravu 2004–2005; Carbó García 2011; Nemeti 2012a, 53–60.

²⁶ IDR III/4, 278.

²⁷ Renberg 2015, 245.

²⁸ Fassa 2016, 60.

themselves or their amateur colleagues had been in charge of the interpretation. He thus concludes that the interpretation of dreams could be attributed to a specialist available in the environments of the sanctuaries, as well as in the forums of the cities – a professional interpreter of dreams or a diviner with that capacity – or an amateur of interpretation, but not someone officially consecrated to the service of the cult of Liber Pater.²⁹

It is inevitable to reach this conclusion when it is observed that, except for the inscription dedicated to Liber Pater in Inlăceni, there is no clear evidence that the interpretation of dreams had anything to do with the decisions to erect epigraphic monuments with dedications reflecting dreams, either in Dacia or in the rest of the Empire, with the other general exception already mentioned of the Isiac cult. This could be explained in two different ways: first, that there was no need for the intervention of any specialist – or any related amateur – in the interpretation of dreams leading to religious activities; and as a second possibility, when there were religious communications with the divine through mediators, specialized or amateur dream-interpreters, these were not a fact considered of importance by the dedicants or even that such consultations were something really so routine that normally there was no reason to mention them.

Without discarding the second of these explanations, since there is a similar problem for the omens, as we will see below, Renberg leans towards the first, considering that it would have the support of the Artemidorus' *Oneirocritica* and other literary sources,³⁰ while Eleni Fassa believes that epigraphic conventions should not be underestimated, either globally in Roman *oikumene* or on a local scale. At the time of collecting such experiences in the texts of the dedications of the inscriptions, epigraphic conventions required the language to be concise and homogeneous. A practice could end up becoming a convention thanks to certain advantages and because most people could easily understand it.³¹

In this way, the imperative formulas in relation to dreams to which we have been referring would not be viewed ambiguously or with little clarity by most of the population that could read them in the inscriptions. And precisely this need for a concise and homogeneous language in epigraphic conventions – most of the time also due to the lack of space on the epigraphic support – could speak in favour of the mediations of intermediaries in religious communication, the interpreters of dreams, not being included in the vast majority of inscriptions because they are something of secondary importance or something merely routine in the procedures for religious communication through dreams.

As we pointed out a moment ago, a situation similar to this – but unrelated to dreams – would occur in the case of omens, which normally fostered the development of religious activities, as it is known from literary sources, but which almost never appear explicitly in votive inscriptions. We can see an example in Dacia in a votive column from Apulum, dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, which narrates the struggle between an eagle and a snake, interrupted by both dedicants. There is no mention of an interpretation or an interpreter of the omen:³²

²⁹ Renberg 2015, 246.

³⁰ Renberg 2015, 256–257.

³¹ Fassa 2016, 60.

³² CIL III 7756 = ILS 3007 = AE 1980, 734 = IDR III/5, 136.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Aur(elius) Marinus / Bas(s)us et Aur(elius) / Castor Polyd/i circumstantes / viderunt numen / aquilae descidis(s)e / monte supra dracone(m) / res validavit / supstrinxit aquila(m) / hi s(upra) s(cripti) aquila(m) de / periculo / liberaverunt / v(oto) l(ibentes) m(erito) p(osuerunt).

Certainly, the interpretation of dreams could be behind the decision to make part of the inscriptions that have reached our days and that collect dreamlike experiences, but it seems that it was not worth collecting the consultations themselves, the participation of a specialist professional or an amateur, intermediary in religious communication with the divinity, but without being a priest or someone from the worship staff of the sanctuaries.

A special form of dream-vision was the practice known as *incubatio*, usually in connection with the healing of diseases, which was basically the reception of the faithful in sanctuaries, where they spent the night after having followed an established ritual: fasting, prayer, bathing and sacrifice. The Greek word would be *enkoimesis*, that is, “to sleep in a temple”. During the night, if the worshipper managed to maintain the attitude that was expected of him, he would be able to see the divinity through dreams, receiving advice on the problems that affected him and thus being able to achieve healing. Then he used to record it through inscriptions or in literary works. This would be the case of the *Sacred Discourses* of Aelius Aristides, who narrates his long stay in the *Asklepieion* of Pergamon, where he hoped to be able to obtain the healing of his ills through the *incubatio*. This procedure had precisely been reaching a more significant boom in connection with the very extension of the cult of the Panhellenic god Asklepios.³³

In relation to this importance of dreams in the cult of Aesculapius, an inscription of Apulum precisely collects the formula *ex praecepto numinis Aesculapii somno monitus*, that is, “following the order of the divine power of Aesculapius, who advises him during his dream”:³⁴

I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) D(olicheno) / ex praecepto / num(inis) Aesculapi(i) / somno monit(us) / Veturius Marci/an(us) vet(eranus) l(egionis) XIII G(eminae) p(ro) s(alute) s(ua) suor(um)q(ue).

However, the epigraphic monument is dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus and some relationship with Aesculapius can be detected. The cult of Aesculapius had a remarkable diffusion in Dacia, with a sanctuary of some importance in Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa and another one in Apulum, and has even reached our days an inscription dedicated to its variant of Pergamum, although this does not collect any expression of a dream as a cause of its erection, such as those we are dealing with in this study.³⁵

The Syrian divinity, in fact, had among other attributes those of healer and savior, and hence its approach to Aesculapius. In this case, that capacity could be understood as the attribute of a divinity of supreme kind that gathered the attributes present among

³³ Aristid. *Sac. Orat.* See Fernández López, Prieto Fernández 1992, 206; Cortés Copete 2002, 51–68; Diomidis 2010.

³⁴ CIL III 1614 = 8044 = CCID 158 = IDR III/5, 220.

³⁵ CIL III 1417a = ILS 3854 = IDR III/2, 164.

other divinities of the Greco-Roman pantheon, perhaps a henotheistic tendency among the worshippers of Dolichenus, by accumulating divine attributes and powers of other popular divinities of the moment.³⁶ His association with traditional healing divinities, such as Apollo and Aesculapius, is attested with epigraphic and iconographic material from even the sanctuary of Dolichenus on the Aventine in Rome.³⁷ This has also been interpreted from a medical point of view, arguing that the priests of the divinity of Commagene were specialized in fields that were different from those of the *asklepieia*,³⁸ but it seems that the inscriptions in which we can see those associations of Dolichenus with Apollo or Aesculapius suggest that it was not about any kind of competition or domination between the cults, but rather about collaboration and equality between the divinities.

Similarly, and also in Apulum, in another inscription on a statue base, a soldier of the *legio XIII Gemina* declares that he built a fountain and dedicated an inscription to Deus Aeternus by the mandate of the god Apollo – *ex iussu dei Apollinis*– at a rather late time for Dacia, such as the years AD 238–244:³⁹

*Ex iussu dei / Apollinis fon/tem Aeterni Ulp(ius) / Proculinus / speculator / leg(ionis)
XIII G(eminae) Gordia/nae a solo resti/tuit.*

Although in Dacia no particularity can be observed in relation to the ritual of *incubatio*, it should be noted that religious specialists in the interpretation of dreams – *interpres somniorum*, *conietor somniorum* – usually monopolized access to the few places where *incubatio* was possible in the context of the province. The experience of visiting an *asklepieion* involved a psychological and emotional impact, but also an economic investment. The price of access to the *incubatio* had to be paid, in the same way that many visitors paid in some cases for the healing services of the *clinicus* – as in the case of Apulum – and, more commonly, *ex votos*, such as votive altars or also statues and reliefs shaped like body parts, thus being one of the most characteristic aspects of religious communication and the sacralization of space.

Caius Iulius Valens served as a *clinicus* at the *asklepieion* of Apulum, where *incubationes* took place on a regular basis. The specialists in the *incubatio* not only had elements of religious knowledge, but also religious understanding. They used to work in a sacred area – *locus sanctus* – since the spatial organization of health care was very strictly related to sacralized spaces.⁴⁰ As a *haruspex*, he also had knowledge of private or public divinatory practices and rites, and it is highly likely that he used them in parallel to his medical function in the *asklepieion*, as a local interpreter or oracle. He most likely acted as a private *haruspex* before officially becoming a *haruspex* of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis from 222.⁴¹

³⁶ Merlat 1960, 104 and 208.

³⁷ CIL VI 408; CIL VI 413.

³⁸ Szabó 2008.

³⁹ CIL III 990 = IDR III/5, 31.

⁴⁰ See Szabó 2004.

⁴¹ He appears in several inscriptions, being identified as *haruspex coloniae*: IDR III/5, 297, 356, 364, 367, 388. See Szabó 2018, 64–66.

As Csaba Szabó pointed out, the different small religious groups would have created a specific local religious communication with their own religious narratives expressed through a specific iconography and religious practices inside the sanctuaries, using different strategies for the maintenance of the sacralized spaces.⁴²

Also, the cult of Glykon and its oracle in Abonouteichos, in Paphlagonia, reached great importance in the second half of the second century AD, including a system of divination through dreams, as Lucian of Samosata relates in a satirical way in his work, *Alexander or the False Prophet*.⁴³ We know 2 inscriptions dedicated to this god in Dacia and in both the same formula is mentioned, *iusso dei*, referring to their erection by command of the god.⁴⁴ Precisely, Alexander gave name to the divinity also following a divine order that he interpreted, as Lucian tells us.⁴⁵

Activities such as *incubatio* or dream interpretation were presented with different variations and individual options, according to the usual rules of diversification that we can find in the context of the Roman health care system. In the case of the two dedicants of the Glykon inscriptions, a particular case of religious individuation takes place.⁴⁶ They assumed a unique religious identity from the moment they chose Glykon over Asklepios or other healing divinities with similar attributes. Precisely, Alexander of Abonouteichos introduced this intention by founding the cult of Glykon, to make it different, more competitive, in relation to the other individual options.⁴⁷ At the same time, this great variety of options in the religious market⁴⁸ of health divinities, as well as activities and sanctuaries, fostered in some way the competition between them and, as we pointed out further back, also the collaboration between these groups and individuals.⁴⁹

Near the *asklepieion* of Apulum, but unrelated with it, we can also detect the presence of the cult of Nemesis, and even outside the sacred area, in the *praetorium consularis*, but in any case, with testimonies related to the field of dreams. First of all, we have a votive statue with inscription, dedicated by the aforementioned Caius Iulius Valens, *haruspex* and *antistes*.⁵⁰

[N]emesi Reginae / C(aius) Iul(ius) Valens harus(pex) / col(oniae) Apul(ensis) et ant(istes) huisc(e) loci / somnio monitus l(ibens) p(osuit).

And, secondly, we have a small votive altar or perhaps statue base dedicated to Nemesis by Terentius Marcianus, a *beneficiarius*, who rebuilt a temple after an experience of direct contact with the divine, because of a dream:⁵¹

⁴² Szabó 2018, 75, 137.

⁴³ Lucian, *Alexander*. See Sfameni-Gasparro 1996; Sfameni-Gasparro 1999; Chaniotis 2002; see also Hidalgo de la Vega 2001, 221–224; Gascó 1997.

⁴⁴ IDR III/5, 85, 86.

⁴⁵ Lucian, *Alexander*, 16.

⁴⁶ On the concepts of individualization and individuation for historical research, see Rüpke 2013a; Rüpke 2013b; Rüpke 2015.

⁴⁷ See Chaniotis 2002.

⁴⁸ About this notion, Petridou 2016.

⁴⁹ Szabó 2018, 78.

⁵⁰ AE 1930, 6 = IDR III/5, 297.

⁵¹ CIL III 14474 = IDR III/5, 295.

Nemesi / deae Ter(enti)us / Marcia[n/u]s b(ene)f(iciarius) tem/pl(u)m a novo / fecit ex / viso / v(otum) s(olvit).

Both monuments, as well as the reconstruction of the aforementioned temple, were performed by an order of divinity through a dream, probably by a ritual of *incubatio*. Szabó points out that the possible proximity of a theatre identified by a geophysical survey would also prove that in urban planning in Dacia the origin of the local elite would play a very important role, in addition to the economic and geographical specificities.⁵²

In the case of Apulum we would be talking about a fairly remarkable community of people originally from Pergamum, Ephesus and other cities in Asia Minor.⁵³ An old *aedilis* dedicated an inscription to Jupiter Sabazius with the formula *a deo iussus fecit*, that is, “he did it by command of the god”.⁵⁴

[?Iovi o(ptimo) m(aximo) S]abasio / [pro salute i]mp(eratoris) Caes(aris) / [M(arci) Aur(elii) Ant]onini Pii Fel(icis) / [Aug(usti) et Iuliae] Aug(ustae) matris / [Aug(usti) a deo i]ussus fecit / [...] Marcianus / [aedil]icius.

And, in the same locality, an anonymous dedicant, but of probable Minor Asiatic origin due to the epithet carried by the divinity, dedicated an inscription by order of the (goddess) Mater Troklimene.⁵⁵

Ἐξ ἐπιτ/αγῆς μη/τρὸς Τρο/κλιμήνης.

These dedications reveal the character of these divinities, with a very direct connection with religious usages in Asia Minor, as well as that form of religiosity expressed by their worshippers, who manifested a predisposition to submissively accept divine orders dictated in response to their requests, either through oracles or through dreams, so that the worshippers were doomed to a situation of submission to divinity, thus internalizing their dependence on the absolute power of the gods in such a way that they could practically feel their slaves.⁵⁶ The conception of that divine omnipotence that is revealed in these inscriptions through total obedience to the orders manifested in dreams implied the acceptance of the worshippers of their position as a *servus dei*. They would be expressions of the social relations that arise when religion demands the submission of the faithful, as a true *deditio in fidem*.⁵⁷ Thus, in these formulas collected in the epigraphic monuments, the existence of a religious tension is detected. In them, the divinity, dominator of its

⁵² Szabó 2018, 46.

⁵³ On the presence of groups originating in Asia Minor in Apulum and their forms of religious communication, see Szabó 2018, 78–98.

⁵⁴ AE 1961, 82 = IDR III/5, 225.

⁵⁵ CIL III 7766 = IGR I 543 = IDR III/5, 256 = CIGD 17.

⁵⁶ Lozano 2007, 355: the conception of an absolute power of the gods over the worshippers would have had its origin in the East, being a prominent and characteristic feature of its people when it comes to assuming and manifesting their religiosity. In inscriptions of Asia Minor, the followers of these gods could appear defined as slaves without actually belonging legally to that group of society.

⁵⁷ Alvar 2001, 239–240.

worshippers, exerts its determining influence on them. And these dedications were the result of divine commands, expressed to the faithful through dreams.⁵⁸

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As observed, the forms of religious communication through dreams, specific rituals such as that of the *incubatio* and the participation of specialists in the interpretation of dreams – although almost not attested in the epigraphic record in Dacia –, and the strategies employed for the maintenance of such religious communication, such as the sacralization of space and the promotion of collaboration between groups and individuals, they lead us to be able to appreciate in greater depth the richness and complexity of the provincial religious life of Dacia in the broader context of religious practices related to dreams in the Roman Empire.

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⁵⁸ Lozano 2001, 107.

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BROKEN DISCUS LAMPS FROM ROMAN DACIA

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Abstract: The present study analyses 46 mould-made Roman lamps, focusing on the deliberate partial or total removal of their discs, in order to facilitate the insertion of solid fuel (tallow) rather than olive oil. The latter had the disadvantages of being more expensive, more difficult to produce and distribute within the Empire, without being more calorically efficient than the solid alternative. Based on the information revealed by the contexts of discovery, respectively by the typological framing of the artifacts, an attempt has been made to establish a chronological frame during which these lamps were used. Following the analysis of the archaeological material concerned, a typology capturing four ways of cutting the disc of a lamp was created. The present study contributes to the valorisation of the lamps in a different manner, the local specialised literature often limiting itself to their property of providing alternative dating or modest forays into the minor arts.

Keywords: Roman Empire; Roman Dacia; ceramic lamps; fuels.

Rezumat: Studiul de față analizează 46 de opaițe din epoca romană, produse prin tehnica tiparului. Punctul de interes al acestei cercetări vizează îndepărtarea voită a discurilor opaițelor, parțial sau în totalitate, pentru a facilita introducerea combustibilului solid (seu), în defavoarea uleiului de măsline. Acesta din urmă prezenta dezavantajele de a fi mai scump, mai dificil de produs și de difuzat în Imperiu, fără a fi mai eficient din punct de vedere caloric față de alternativa solidă. Pe baza informațiilor relevate de contextele de descoperire, respectiv de încadrarea tipologică a artefactelor, s-a încercat stabilirea unui interval cronologic în care aceste opaițe au fost utilizate. În urma analizei materialului arheologic vizat, a fost alcătuită o tipologie care surprinde patru modalități de decupare a discului unui opaiț. Studiul prezent contribuie la valorificarea opaițelor într-o altă manieră, literatura de specialitate autohtonă limitându-se adesea doar la proprietatea acestora de a oferi datări alternative sau modeste incursiuni în artele minore.

Cuvinte cheie: Imperiul Roman; provincia Dacia; opaițe ceramice; combustibili.

Due to the lamps discovered within the Roman Empire and outside of it, one can observe with certainty that the lighting system reached its peak during this period.¹ The category of lamps discussed in this study presents a recurring phenomenon highlighted in literature,² the main explanation for this practice being premeditated breakage for economic³ or cultural⁴ reasons.

¹ I would like to thank Lect. Dr. Silvia Mustață and Lect. Dr. Dávid Petruț for the bibliographic material and the suggestions they provided for this study. I also thank Alina Piticar for proofreading the text.

² Eckardt 2002, 61–73; Hanotte 2008.

³ Crnobraja 2008; Forbes 1958, 160.

⁴ Tal, Bastos 2012.

The adaptation of the mould-made lamps to the use of solid fuel reflects the economic effect encountered in Roman Dacia, given that the unity of the Roman Empire does not necessarily mean the uniformity of certain practices. The use of a fuel with a higher degree of accessibility than olive oil in the geographical area analysed suggests concern for the economic factor of a population located outside the olive-growing area. The issue of transport costs, which must have been an important consideration in the purchase of fuel, is added to this aspect. Unfortunately, the information we have on this issue is rather modest given the size of the Empire and the transport infrastructure it possessed.⁵ It is likely that any transport of goods over hundreds of kilometres would have increased the final price by at least 50% of its value.⁶ Dacia's status as an importer of olive oil, coupled with the acute need for lighting, must have led to a reorientation of the population regarding the purchase of fuel, the small number of amphorae carrying this good discovered in the province proving this once again.⁷ It should also be noted that although oil lamps are found in significant numbers in this region, they were rarely used in everyday life, mainly due to the lack of oil, being most commonly used in cultic, magical, and funerary contexts.⁸ A recent study based on evidence from Roman Dacia suggests that it is unlikely that more than two or three lamps, on average, operated in each *contubernium*, an insufficient number for carrying out certain domestic activities.⁹ Therefore, we may consider that lamps fuelled with olive oil would not have played an important role in terms of interior lighting, people often resorting instead to tallows, wax candles, dried pine branches, and hearths, whose operating cost was much lower, while the light emitted was similar or even stronger.¹⁰

In the case of the province of Dacia, not only was liquid fuel replaced by solid fuel for such artifacts, but the lamps were adapted in such a way as to facilitate the insertion of this fuel, as people resorted to cutting out or widening the filling hole to insert the tallow. In the attempt of capturing this phenomenon at the provincial level, finds from the main archaeological sites were analysed. As a result, 46 lamps were identified, all of which have already been published in various studies or site monographs. Surely their number must have been more significant, which in the end would only lead to the modification of the statistical data, without affecting the conclusions reached in any way, given that the main purpose of this study is to draw attention to the existence of the practice of reusing lamps at the provincial level. The analysis of this set of pieces led to the definition of four types that capture the modification of the discus of a lamp in order to insert solid fuel (Fig. 1).

⁵ Vague details on this aspect appear in various ancient sources, such as Cato the Elder's "De Agri Cultura" or Diocletian's Edict on Maximum Prices (see also Jones 1964, 841–842).

⁶ Harris 1980, 134.

⁷ A total of 122 amphorae used to transport olive oil were recorded on the territory of Roman Dacia, representing 44.85% of the total amphorae analysed in Adrian Ardeț's study (See Ardeț 2006, 255). It should be noted, however, that the number of amphorae analysed by the author reflects the stage of research in 2005, or the amount of material to which he had access. The number of amphorae was probably higher.

⁸ Crnobraja 2008, 410–411.

⁹ Petruț, Gui, Trîncă 2014, 83.

¹⁰ Crnobraja 2008, 411; Wunderlich 2003, 253–254.



Fig. 1. Types of cuttings observed on lamps from Roman Dacia
(Type I: cat. no. 17; Type II: cat. no. 16; Type III: cat. no. 18; Type IV: cat. no. 46).

Type I comprises lamps with the discus partially cut out, and the edge of the filling hole left unfinished (74%).

Type II presents the same characteristics, but an interest in finishing the edges of the widened orifice can be observed (7%).

Type III comprises lamps with the discus completely cut out (17%).

Type IV is represented by lamps with the discus and nozzle partially cut out and finished in a straight line (2%).

The low interest regarding the aesthetic aspect of the discus is highlighted by the first two types. This practice can be explained either by the poor craftsmanship of the person cutting the discus, by indifference, or why not, by haste. Due to the large number of lamps presenting such a cut, it is hard to believe that this could be the result of an accident, even if in some cases such a variant must also be considered. The execution of the first two types of cuttings should be directly linked to the owner of the lamps, as this process does not require advanced technical knowledge. As for the lamps showing traces of finishing, the intention of using a solid fuel rather than a liquid fuel is evident. To these aspects we can also add the possibility that the widening of the lamp filling hole is due to the desire of obtaining better ventilation or improved lighting.

In terms of the context of discovery of these lamps, most artifacts come from the military context (51%), followed by the civilian (24%) and funerary (22%) contexts. The context of discovery is unknown for six of the lamps included in this study (Fig. 2). Most lamps come from Potaissa (22), followed by lamps from the necropolises of Alburnus Maior (9), discoveries from Apulum, Gilău, and Ilișua where 4 pieces were recorded for each one, while only 1 lamp was identified at Cășei, Porolissum and Romula each (Fig. 3). The fact that half of the analysed artifacts come from the military environment may suggest, on the one hand, the economic power and the constant demand of the soldiers for such goods, but on the other hand, it may be the result of the current level of field research, as most excavations are focused in this direction. The large number of lamps coming from Potaissa probably reflects the large batch included in Ana Cătinaș's unpublished PhD Thesis, as opposed to the relatively small number published from auxiliary forts. At the same time, the legionary fortresses seem to have been better supplied with olive oil than the auxiliary ones.¹¹

¹¹ Petruț 2018, 111.

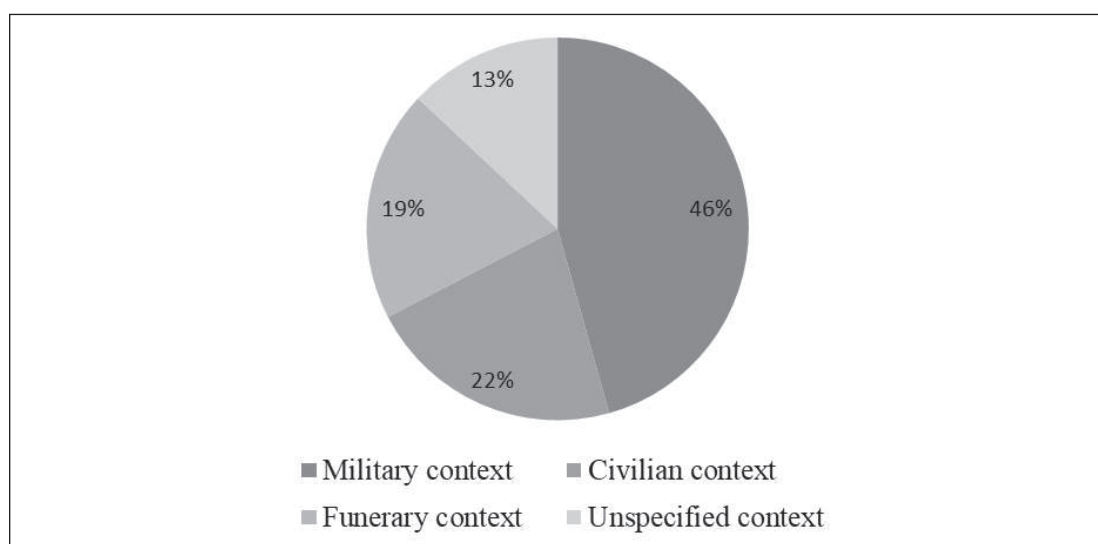


Fig. 2. The distribution of reused lamps in Roman Dacia according to site characteristics.

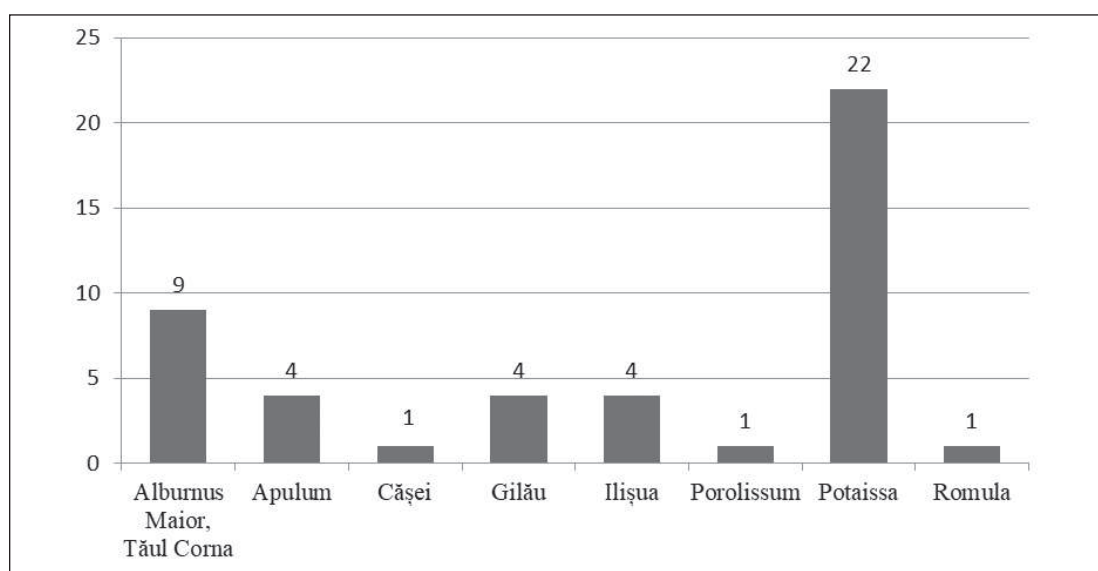


Fig. 3. The distribution of modified lamps in Roman Dacia according to their place of discovery.

While the lamps made on the potter's wheel that used tallow as fuel are considered to have been used between the 1st and 4th centuries AD,¹² all the lamps analysed in this study come from contexts of discovery that do not exceed chronologically the period of the province's existence. However, it can be assumed that such reused lamps began to be employed as early as the 1st century AD, at which point the production of *Bildlampen*-type lamps began to decline and they were gradually replaced by *Firmalampen*-type lamps, which enjoyed a wide distribution until the 3rd century AD.¹³ This category of lamps was therefore particularly important in the period between the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD.

¹² Regep-Vlascici 2008, 341.

¹³ Eckardt 2002, 189.

At the same time, it should be mentioned that this phenomenon does not represent a local specificity, being present in several provinces of the Roman Empire. Apart from Dacia, where, as seen, such pieces are quite common, it is worth mentioning the analogies from Apollonia in Judaea, where a religious significance was assigned to the cutting of the discus, attributed to the Hebrews and Samaritans.¹⁴ Two lamps of the Loeschcke IX and X *Firmalampen* types have been discovered at Bavay (*Bacagum*, Gallia Belgica), bearing the *FORTIS* stamp. Their discuses were removed voluntarily, as evidenced by their neat finishing.¹⁵ Suitable analogies are also found in the province of Britannia, where 464 lamps that were modified in this manner were identified, the majority from Colchester and London.¹⁶ Such pieces have also been found in the vicinity of Dacia in the province of Moesia Inferior.¹⁷

Conclusions

The presence of this type of lamps in various contexts suggests that their use was not limited to a certain social category. From a typological point of view, the 46 lamps analysed belong to the Loeschcke types I, IV, VIII, VIII R, and X, the latter category being the most representative. Following the observations made based on the discus cuttings, four types with different characteristics were defined. Due to the lack of information offered by the contexts of discovery, capable of contributing to establishing a chronological interval for the use of these lamps, we must limit ourselves to mentioning that we are dealing with a practice carried out at a time when individuals could not obtain liquid fuel. For this reason, dating based on typological criteria cannot be considered. From a chronological point of view, this phenomenon was only recorded during the period of existence of the province of Dacia. The analogies found within the Roman Empire suggest that the practice of reusing lamps is not only specific to the province under analysis.

Catalogue

No.	Place of discovery	Context of discovery and dating according to context	Type	Cutting type	Site characteristics			Bibliography
					Military	Civilian	Funerary	
1.	<i>Alburnus Maior</i> , Tăul Corna Pl. I/1.	-	Loeschcke X	Type I			X	Damian 2003, Fig. 32, no. 3.
2.	<i>Alburnus Maior</i> , Tăul Corna Pl. I/2.	Discovered in grave no. 16	Loeschcke X Uniform primary burning, traces of secondary burning on the nozzle and reservoir	Type I			X	Damian 2006, Pl. 9, no. 2.

¹⁴ Tal, Bastos 2012, 104.

¹⁵ Hanotte 2008.

¹⁶ Eckardt 2002, 135.

¹⁷ Rusu-Bolindeț, Botiș 2018, 232.

No.	Place of discovery	Context of discovery and dating according to context	Type	Cutting type	Site characteristics			Bibliography
					Military	Civilian	Funerary	
3.	<i>Alburnus Maior</i> , Tăul Corna Pl. I/3.	Discovered in grave no. 57	Loeschcke X Uniform primary burning, traces of secondary burning on the border, reservoir, and base	Type I			X	Damian 2006, Pl. 37, no. 2.
4.	<i>Alburnus Maior</i> , Tăul Corna Pl. I/4.	Discovered in grave no. 213	Loeschcke X Uniform primary burning, slightly affected by soil acidity	Type I			X	Damian 2006, Pl. 195, no. 7.
5.	<i>Alburnus Maior</i> , Tăul Corna Pl. I/5.	Discovered in grave no. 214	Loeschcke X Uniform primary burning, traces of secondary burning on the reservoir, slightly affected by soil acidity	Type I			X	Damian 2006, Pl. 196, no. 2.
6.	<i>Alburnus Maior</i> , Tăul Corna Pl. I/6.	Discovered in grave no. 240	Loeschcke X Uniform primary burning, traces of secondary burning, slightly affected by soil acidity	Type III			X	Damian 2006, Pl. 225, no. 1.
7.	<i>Alburnus Maior</i> , Tăul Corna Pl. I/7.	Discovered in grave no. 263	Loeschcke X Uniform primary burning, traces of secondary burning on the lid	Type I			X	Damian 2006, Pl. 248, no. 11.

No.	Place of discovery	Context of discovery and dating according to context	Type	Cutting type	Site characteristics			Bibliography
					Military	Civilian	Funerary	
			and nozzle, slightly affected by soil acidity					
8.	<i>Alburnus Maior</i> , Tăul Corna Pl. I/8.	Discovered in grave no. 267	Loeschcke X Uniform primary burning, strongly affected by soil acidity	Type I			X	Damian 2006, Pl. 254, no. 1.
9.	<i>Alburnus Maior</i> , Tăul Corna Pl. I/9.	Discovered in grave no. 278	Loeschcke X Uniform primary burning	Type I			X	Damian 2006, Pl. 268, no. 6.
10.	Apulum Pl. II/10.	Discovered in the Sanctuary of Liber Pater	Loeschcke X Burning traces observed on the surface	Type I		X		Egri 2005, Fig. 3, no. 1.
11.	Apulum Pl. II/11.	Discovered in the Sanctuary of Liber Pater	Loeschcke VIII Burning traces observed on the surface	Type I		X		Egri 2005, Fig. 3, no. 4.
12.	Apulum Pl. II/12.	Discovered in the Sanctuary of Liber Pater	Loeschcke VIII Burning traces observed on the surface	Type I		X		Egri 2005, Fig. 3, no. 5.
13.	Apulum Pl. II/13.	Discovered in the Sanctuary of Liber Pater	Loeschcke X Burning traces observed on the surface	Type II		X		Egri 2005, Fig. 3, no. 7.
14.	Cășei Pl. II/14.	Discovered in the auxiliary fort, <i>latus praetorii sinistrum</i> ,	Loeschcke X A thick layer of burning	Type III	X			Roman 2005, Pl. 21, no. 207.

No.	Place of discovery	Context of discovery and dating according to context	Type	Cutting type	Site characteristics			Bibliography
					Military	Civilian	Funerary	
		the last occupation level, at a depth of 0.5 m Uncertain. Second half of the 2 nd c. AD – 3 rd c. AD	residue is preserved on the nozzle					
15.	Gilău Pl. II/15.	Discovered in the auxiliary fort, <i>praetentura sinistra</i> , “building A”, room C, depth of 1.2 m. Second half of the 2 nd c. AD	Loeschcke IV The piece shows traces of charcoal and burning on the surface that do not come from its use	Type I	X			Roman 2005, Pl. 8, no. 66.
16.	Gilău Pl. II/16.	Discovered in the auxiliary fort, <i>praetorium</i> , at a depth of 1.2 m. 2 nd c. AD	Loeschcke I	Type I	X			Roman 2005, Pl. 9, no. 68.
17.	Gilău Pl. II/17.	Discovered in the auxiliary fort, <i>praetentura dextra</i> , at a depth of 1.2 m	Loeschcke X	Type I	X			Roman 2005, Pl. 22, no. 210.
18.	Gilău Pl. II/18.	Discovered in the auxiliary fort, <i>praetorium</i> , at a depth of 1.1 m. End of the 2 nd c. AD -beginning of the 3 rd c. AD	Loeschcke X The lamp shows strong secondary burning over almost the entire surface	Type III	X			Roman 2005, Pl. 17, no. 160.
19.	Ilișua Pl. II/19.	Discovered in the auxiliary fort, <i>praetentura dextra</i> , barracks I, at a depth of 1 m. Mid 2 nd c. AD	Loeschcke VIII	Type II	X			Gaiu 2010, Pl. II, no. 9.

No.	Place of discovery	Context of discovery and dating according to context	Type	Cutting type	Site characteristics			Bibliography
					Military	Civilian	Funerary	
20.	Ilişua Pl. II/20.	Discovered in the auxiliary fort, area of the gate. Mid 3 rd c. AD	Loeschcke X	Type II	X			Gaiu 2010, Pl. VI, no. 42.
21.	Ilişua Pl. II/21.	Discovered in the auxiliary fort, <i>praetentura dextra</i> , barracks III. Second half of the 2 nd c. AD – first half of the 3 rd c. AD	Loeschcke X	Type III	X			Gaiu 2010, Pl. VII, no. 52.
22.	Ilişua Pl. III/22.	Discovered in the <i>vicus</i> . 2 nd -3 rd c. AD	Loeschcke X	Type I		X		Gaiu 2010, Pl VII, no. 45.
23.	Porolissum Pl. III/23.	Discovered in the city, sector N, N2 (temple)	Loeschcke VIII R	Type I		X		Roman 2005, Fig. 18, no. 89.
24.	Potaissa Pl. III/24.	Discovered in the legionary fortress, unit X, portico, at a depth of 0.55 m	Loeschcke X	Type I	X			Roman 2005, Fig. 33, no. 172.
25.	Potaissa Pl. III/25.	Discovered in the legionary fortress, <i>thermae</i>	Loeschcke VIII	Type I	X			Cătinaş 2002, no. 34.
26.	Potaissa Pl. III/26.	Discovered in the legionary fortress	Loeschcke X	Type I	X			Cătinaş, fig. 50.
27.	Potaissa Pl. III/27.	Discovered in the legionary fortress, <i>basilica</i> , next to the wall of room A	Loeschcke X	Type I	X			Cătinaş 2002, no. 61.
28.	Potaissa Pl. III/28.	Discovered in the legionary fortress	Loeschcke X Shows traces of secondary	Type I	X			Cătinaş 2002, no. 64.

No.	Place of discovery	Context of discovery and dating according to context	Type	Cutting type	Site characteristics			Bibliography
					Military	Civilian	Funerary	
			burning on the front side of the lamp					
29.	Potaissa Pl. III/29.	Discovered in the legionary fortress, <i>thermae</i> , unit S, at a depth of 0.5 m	Loeschcke X	Type III	X			Cătinaș 2002, no. 142.
30.	Potaissa Pl. III/30.	Discovered in the legionary fortress, <i>cohors miliaria</i> , unit X portico, at a depth of 0.55 m	Loeschcke X	Type III	X			Cătinaș 2002, no. 78.
31.	Potaissa Pl. III/31.	Discovered in the legionary fortress	Loeschcke X	Type I	X			Cătinaș 2002, no. 81.
32.	Potaissa Pl. III/32.	Discovered in the legionary fortress, wall II E	Loeschcke X	Type III	X			Cătinaș 2002, no. 87.
33.	Potaissa Pl. III/33.	Discovered in the legionary fortress, II	Loeschcke X	Type I	X			Cătinaș 2002, no. 97.
34.	Potaissa Pl. IV/34.	Discovered in the legionary fortress, IV D	Loeschcke X	Type I	X			Cătinaș 2002, no. 129.
35.	Potaissa Pl. IV/35.	Discovered in the legionary fortress, <i>retentura</i> , at a depth of 1.50–1.15 m		Type I	X			Cătinaș 2002, no. 152.
36.	Potaissa Pl. IV/36.	Discovered in Piața Romană	Loeschcke X	Type I		X		Cătinaș 2002, no. 63.
37.	Potaissa Pl. IV/37.	Discovered on Romană Street	Loeschcke X	Type I		X		Cătinaș 2002, no. 72.
38.	Potaissa Pl. IV/38.	Discovered in Piața Romană Uncertain	Loeschcke X	Type I		X		Cătinaș 2002, no. 133.

No.	Place of discovery	Context of discovery and dating according to context	Type	Cutting type	Site characteristics			Bibliography
					Military	Civilian	Funerary	
39.	Potaissa Pl. IV/39.	Discovered in Turda	Loeschcke VIII	Type I		X		Cătinaş 2002, no. 182.
40.	Potaissa Pl. IV/40.	Discovered in Turda Uncertain	Loeschcke X	Type III	-			Cătinaş 2002, no. 83.
41.	Potaissa Pl. IV/41.	Discovered in Turda	Loeschcke X	Type I	-			Cătinaş 2002, no. 84.
42.	Potaissa Pl. IV/42.	Discovered in Turda	Loeschcke X	Type I	-			Cătinaş 2002, no. 85.
43.	Potaissa Pl. IV/43.	Discovered in Turda	Loeschcke X	Type I	-			Cătinaş 2002, no. 168.
44.	Potaissa Pl. IV/44.	Discovered in Turda	Loeschcke X	Type I	-			Cătinaş 2002, no. 176.
45.	Potaissa Pl. IV/45.	Discovered in Turda	Loeschcke X	Type I	-			Cătinaş 2002, no. 76.
46.	Romula Pl. IV/46.	Discovered in the auxiliary fort, at a depth of 2.10 m	Loeschcke X	Type IV	X			Rusu-Bolindeţ, Botiş 2018, Fig. 1/2, nos. 48–49.

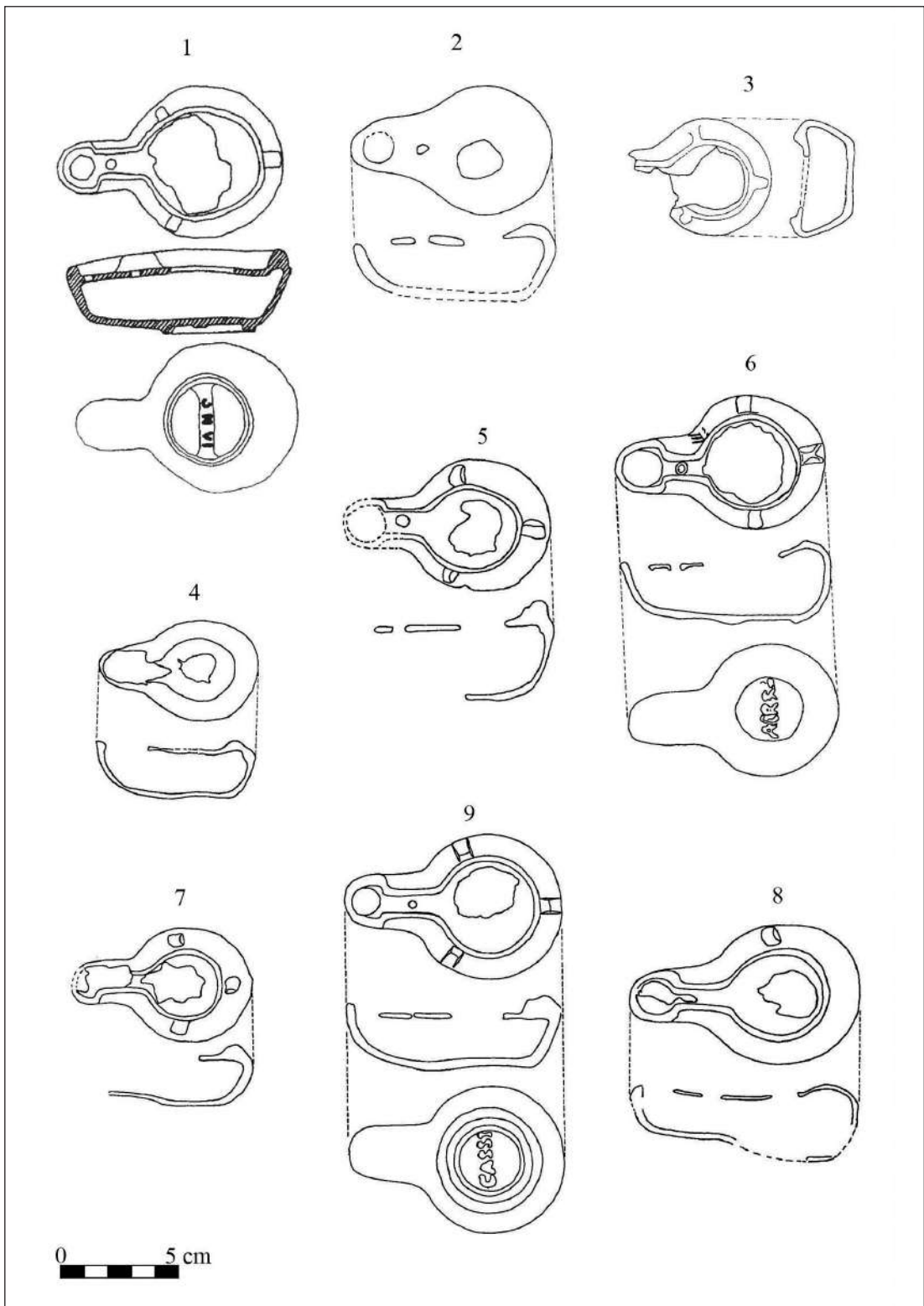
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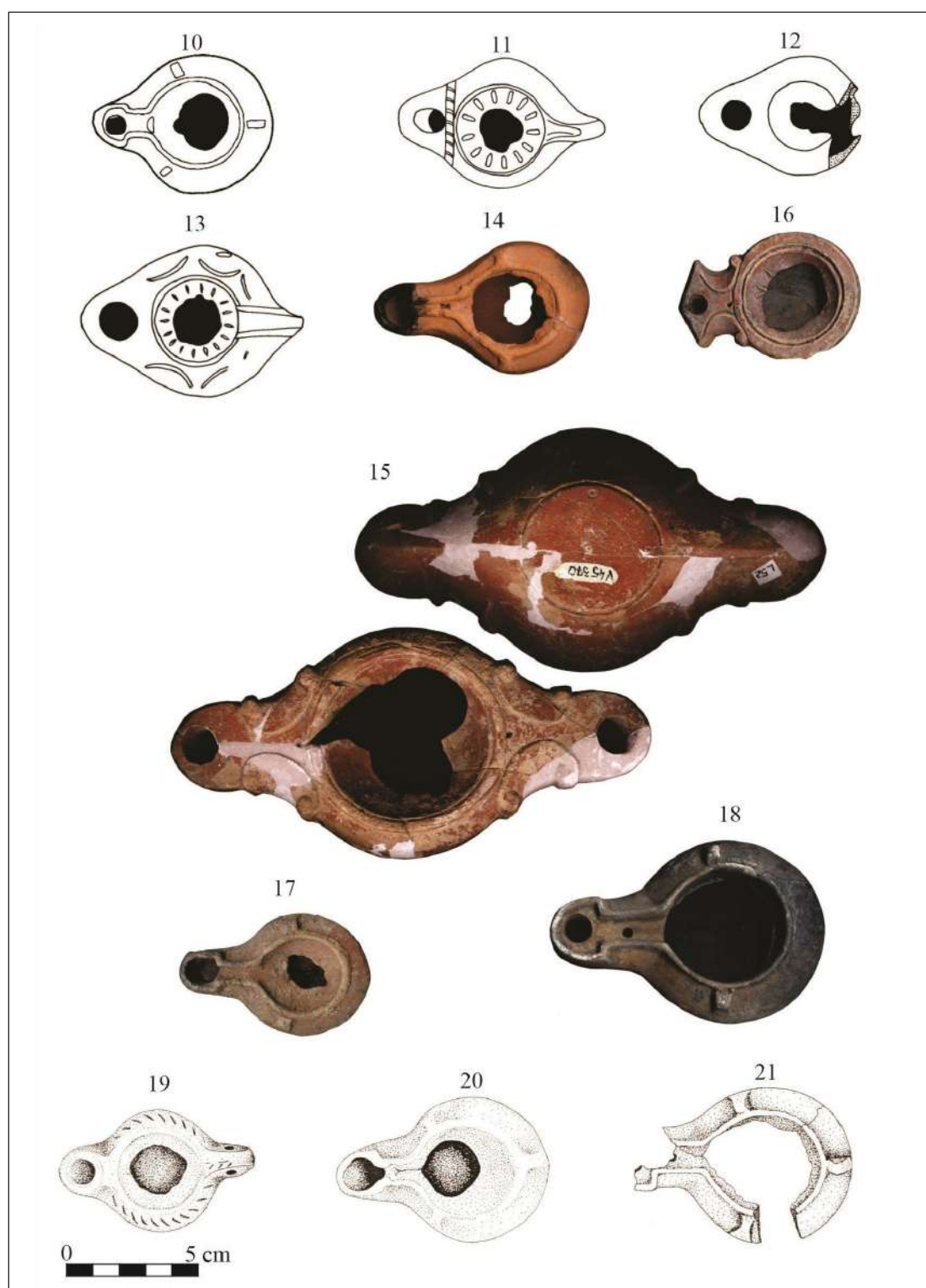
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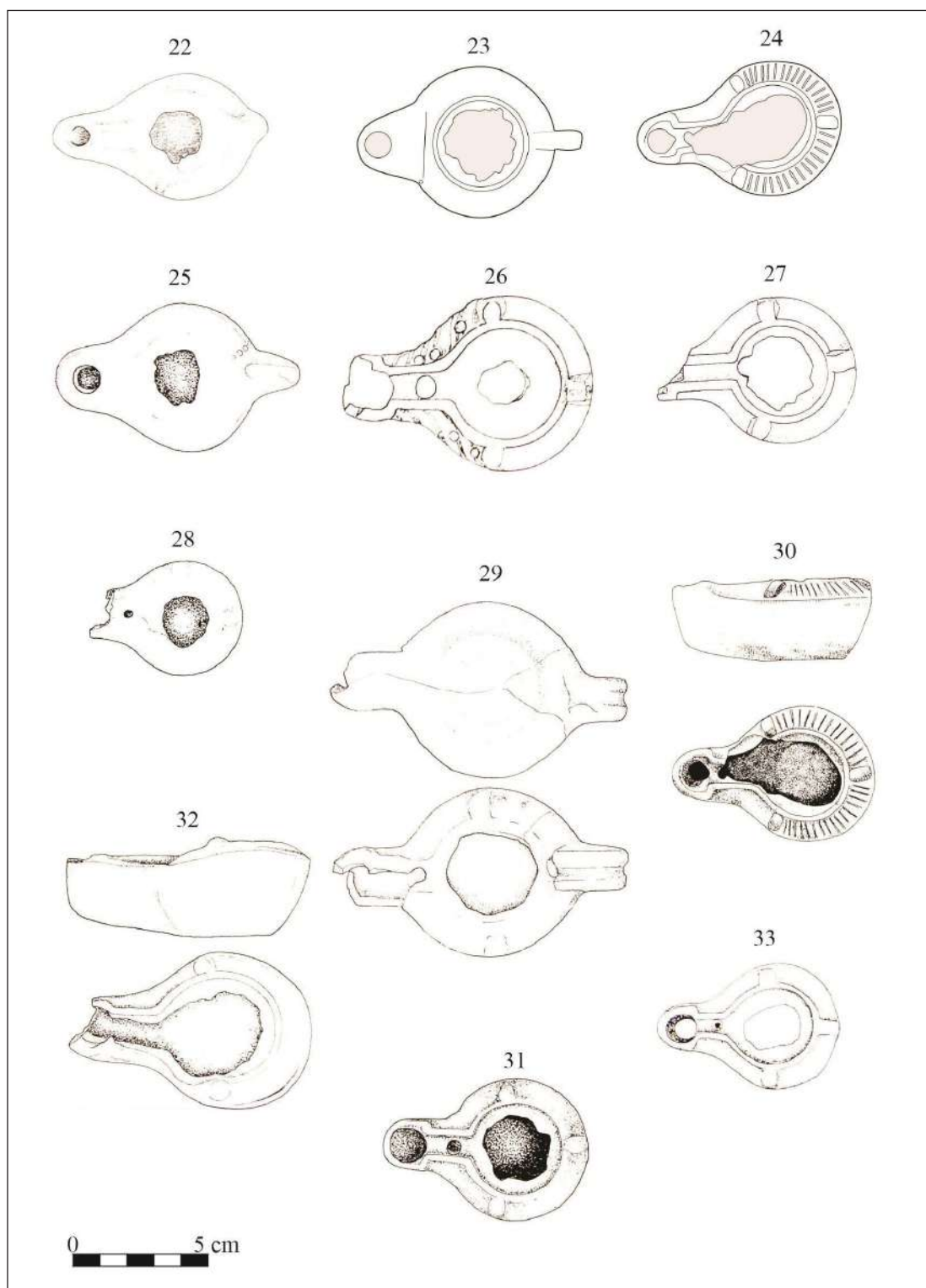
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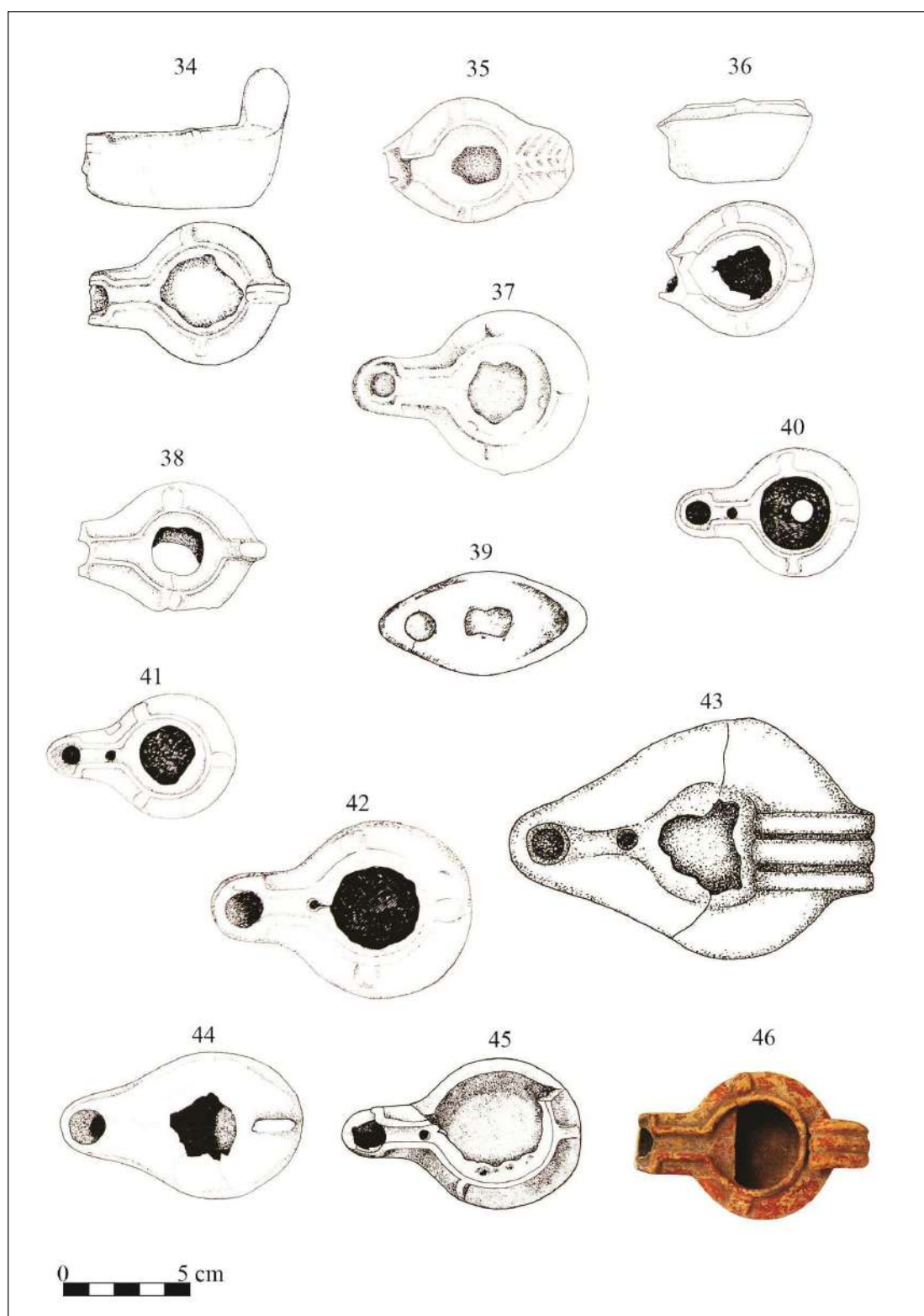
Pl. I. 1–9. Lamps from Alburnus Maior (Damian 2003, Fig. 32, no. 3; Damian 2006, Pl. 9, no. 2; Pl. 37, no. 2; Pl. 195, no. 7; Pl. 196, no. 2; Pl. 2257, no. 1; Pl. 248, no. 11; Pl. 254, no. 1; Pl. 268, no. 6).



Pl. II. Lamps from Apulum: 10–13 (Egri 2005, Fig. 3, nos. 1, 4, 5, 7); Cășei: 14 (Roman 2005, Pl. 21, no. 207); Gilău: 15–18 (Roman 2005, Pl. 8, no. 66; Pl. 9, no. 68; Pl. 22, no. 210; Pl. 17, no. 160); Ilișua 19–21 (Gaiu 2010, Pl. II, no. 9; Pl. VI, no. 42; Pl. VII, no. 52).



Pl. III. Lamps from Ilișua: **22** (Gaiu 2010, Pl. VII, no. 45); Porolissum: **23** (Roman 2005, Pl. 18, no. 89); Potaissa: **24–33** (Roman 2005, Pl. 33, no. 172; Căținaș 2002, nos. 34, 50, 61, 64, 142, 78, 81, 87, 97).



Pl. IV. Lamps from Potaissa: 34–45 (Cătinaș 2002, nos. 129, 152, 63, 72, 133, 182, 83, 84, 85, 168, 176, 76); Romula: 46 (Rusu-Bolindeț, Botiș 2018, Fig. 1/2, nos. 48–49).

STAMPS OF THE LEGIO V MACEDONICA FROM POTAISSA. THE OLD COLLECTIONS OF THE TURDA HISTORY MUSEUM

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Abstract: The tegular material produced by the Fifth Macedonian Legion during its stationing at Potaissa (Turda, Cluj County) is stamped with a wide variety of *signacula* containing the name of the legion in abbreviated form. In order to establish the complete repertory of *signacula* and to verify the old typologies we have taken up the old finds that have entered into the collections of the Turda History Museum before the beginning of the systematic excavations in the fortress of the Fifth Macedonian Legion in 1971. We are thus able to identify some of the stamps previously located in the István Téglás collection, but also a series of stamps resulting from Ioan Țigăra's investigations in Turda and its surroundings or acquired by the Turda Museum from various private individuals. In the following, we want to present them as archaeological artifacts, integrating them into the already created typology and emphasizing the importance of new variants.

Keywords: tile and brick stamps; Fifth Macedonian Legion; Dacia; typology; collections.

Rezumat: Materialul tegular produs de legiunea a V-a Macedonica în timpul staționării la Potaissa (Turda, jud. Cluj) este ștampilat cu o mare varietate de *signacula* care conțin numele legiunii în formă abreviată. Pentru stabilirea repertoriului complet de *signacula* și verificarea vechilor tipologii am reluat descoperirile vechi intrate în colecțiile Muzeului de Istorie Turda dinainte de începutul săpăturilor sistematice din castrul legiunii a V-a Macedonica în anul 1971. Am reușit astfel să identificăm unele din ștampilele aflate anterior în colecția István Téglás, dar și o serie de ștampile provenite din cercetările lui Ioan Țigăra în Turda și împrejurimi sau achiziționate de Muzeul din Turda de la diverse persoane particulare. În cele ce urmează dorim prezentarea lor ca artefacte arheologice, integrându-le în tipologia deja realizată și subliniindu-se importanța variantelor noi.

Cuvinte cheie: ștampile tegulare; legiunea a V-a Macedonica; Dacia; tipologie; colecții.

The tegular material produced by the Fifth Macedonian Legion during its stationing at Potaissa (Turda, Cluj County) is stamped with a wide variety of *signacula* containing the name of the legion in abbreviated form.¹ The stamps of the legion have been known for a long time, appearing in epigraphic corpora,² in the inventories of collectors³ or in scientific

¹ Grec 2000, 118–165, fig. 63–98.

² AE 1978, 685a, 685b; CIL III 1630 a-e; CIL III 8066e; AE 1978, 685c; AE 1983, 861; CIL III 8066f (Turda); CIL III 8066 g, h, i (Săndulești); AE 1993, 1327 (Micești); CIL III 8066g (Mihai Viteazu); CIL III 1630f (Moldovenеști); CIL III 8066d (Bogata de Mureș); CIL III 8066k (Copăceni 1946); AE 1974, 566; IDR III/4, 304 (Corund); IDR III/4, 150; IDR III/4, 150, 1 (Cristești); CIL III 1630h (Unirea); CIL III 8066a; IDR II 99 a-i (Drobeta); CIL III 1630 k; IDR III/1, 72c, 100 b; IDR III/1, 102a (Mehadia); AE 1912, 73b (Berzovia); Piso, Marcu 2016, 16–40, nos. VIII-LIX, 63, no. XC; Piso, Deac 2016, 15–18, nos. II-VII; Piso, Ardeț, Timoc 2019, 30–33, nos. XIV/1, XV/1.

³ Bajusz 1980, 369–393.

works⁴ where different typologies are proposed. Ongoing archaeological excavations in the legionary fortress are constantly yielding new stamped *tegulae*, *imbrices*, or bricks, which enrich the existing repertory of *signacula* with new types and variants. Their analysis in an archaeological context and their distribution in the various buildings investigated in the legionary fortress aims to produce a complete typo-chronology, which will make it possible to underline the genetic relationships between types and variants, but also to assign a relative chronological value to certain types of *signacula* from this typological tree. For the creation of this typo-chronology, the stamps from the archaeologically investigated *centuriae* in the *praetentura sinistra* of the fortress in the years 2012–2016,⁵ from the thermal building in the *praetentura dextra* investigated between 1993–2007⁶ and from the headquarters' building (*principia*), investigated in several stages between 1974 and 2019,⁷ were previously published. Surveys and preventive investigations for interventions within the project for the rehabilitation, enhancement and introduction into the touristic circuit of the archaeological site “Fortress of the Fifth Macedonian Legion” at Potaissa from 2019–2021 led to the discovery in the areas of the *thermae* and *principia* of stamped tegular materials containing new types, unknown at the time of the monographic publication of the respective buildings, and which will be published as *addenda*. In order to establish the complete repertory of *signacula* and to verify the typologies of J. Szilágyi⁸ and M. Grec,⁹ we have taken up the old finds that have entered into the collections of the Turda History Museum before the beginning of the systematic excavations in the fortress of the Fifth Macedonian Legion in 1971.¹⁰ We were thus able to identify some of the stamps previously located in the István Téglás collection, but also a series of stamps resulting from I. Țigăra's investigations in Turda and its surroundings or acquired by the Turda Museum from various private individuals. In the following, we want to present them as archaeological artifacts, integrating them into the already created typology and emphasizing the importance of new variants. Many artefacts come from the area of civil settlement in Potaissa, from necropolises or from the surroundings, and thus it is also necessary to analyse their spatial distribution and their circulation in the civil space as tegular material recycled in antiquity or in the Middle Ages.

Catalogue

The István Téglás Collection

From the various records of the Turda collector, published by István Bajusz, we learn about the existence of a large number of bricks, *tegulae* and *imbrices* with the stamp of the Fifth Macedonian Legion, recovered mainly from the surface of the fortress, but also from the area of the civil settlements. In the inventory of the collection from 1906, the Roman

⁴ Torma 1879, 113; Russu, Milea 1964, 21–25; Szilágyi 1946, 40–42, nos. I.7–III.46, pl. I.7–III.46.

⁵ Nemeti 2017, 145–151, pls. LXXXVII–XCVI.

⁶ Nemeti 2019, 130–147, figs. 306–313.

⁷ Nemeti 2020, 93–96, pls. I–V.

⁸ Szilágyi 1946, nos. I.7–III.46, pls. I.7–III.46.

⁹ Grec 2000, 118–165, figs. 63–98; Grec 2006.

¹⁰ The stamps from the old collections of the Turda History Museum were identified and photographed between February and April 2019 by the doctoral student Paul Chiorean, whom I would like to thank.

pieces from Turda and its surroundings are listed between numbers 1–1070. Here, under 81 inventory numbers, there is tegular material with the stamp of the Fifth Macedonian Legion.¹¹ Plates VI–VIII of the inventory contain small sketches of the stamps, which facilitated the identification of some types and even some specimens.¹² In the collector's journal some of these stamps have been reproduced by colour or black and white drawings, with dimensions and precisions as to their place of discovery.¹³ With the exception of those sketched briefly or erroneously reproduced in the drawing, most of these stamps from the notebooks could be classified into types, and for some it was also possible to establish their identity with those mentioned in the 1906 inventory.¹⁴

Among all these stamps mentioned in the 1906 inventory or drawn in the notebooks published in 2005, we were able to identify 31 stamps in the collections of the Turda History Museum. These come from donations made by the heirs of the collector or were acquired by the first director of the Turda History Museum, Ioan Țigăra.¹⁵

1. *Lydion* brick, fragmentary. MIT, inv. no. 222. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, retrograde, type T VI 36. Rectangular die, dim. 9 cm (Pl. IV/1).
2. *Imbrex*, fragmentary. MIT, inv. no. 258. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, retrograde, type T VI 31. Oval die, dim. 8 cm (Pl. IV/7, Pl. VII/13).
3. Tegula, fragment. MIT, inv. no. 633. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, type T VI 21. Rectangular cartouche, dim. 9.5 cm (Pl. III/5, Pl. VI/12).
4. Tegula, fragment. MIT, inv. no. 640. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, type P VI 78. Rectangular cartouche with *tabula ansata*, preserved dim. 8 cm (Pl. I/14, Pl. V/12).
5. Tegula, fragmentary. MIT, inv. no. 642. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, type B VI 42. Rectangular cartouche, preserved dim. 8 cm (Pl. I/15, Pl. V/13).
6. Tegula, fragmentary. MIT, inv. no. 644. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, type P VI 81. Rectangular cartouche with *tabula ansata*, preserved dim. 8 cm (Pl. II/9).
7. Tegula, fragment. MIT, inv. no. 645. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, type P VI 82 = B VI 6. The letter L inverted and flipped. Rectangular cartouche with *tabula ansata*, dim. 9.5 cm (Pl. II/10, Pl. VI/7).

¹¹ Bajusz 1980, 374–391, nos. 247–249, 344, 347, 348, 395, 401, 415, 868, 872, 873, 899–943, 948–957, 965–976.

¹² Bajusz 1980, pls. VI–VIII.

¹³ Reproduced 40 individual stamps (some are repeated from one illustration to another, p. 789, fig. 24/108 with p. 792, fig. 27/164–166): Bajusz et alii 2005, 498, fig. 30/25, 507, fig. 48/53/1–3, fig. 58/57/1, 508, fig. 48/57/2–4, fig. 49/18–19, 511, fig. 52/80, 526, fig. 32/55, 562, fig. 48/56, 573, fig. 49/21, 574, fig. 28/83/2, 621, fig. 48/2/2, 622, fig. 48/2/3, 638, 669, fig. 44/77/2, 724, fig. 52/194, 738, fig. 48/56, 755, fig. 48/42/1, 758, fig. 48/4/3, 759, fig. 48/5/2, 789, fig. 24/108, 792, fig. 27/157, fig. 27/164–166, 796, fig. 31/17, 848, fig. 53/37/2, fig. 53/38/2.

¹⁴ Bajusz et alii 2005, 498, fig. 30/25 = Bajusz 1980, 388, no. 899, pl. VII; Bajusz et alii 2005, 507, fig. 48/53/1 = Bajusz 1980, 390, no. 954, pl. VIII; Bajusz et alii 2005, 507, fig. 48/53/2 = Bajusz 1980, 390, no. 956, pl. VIII; Bajusz et alii 2005, 507, fig. 48/53/3 = Bajusz 1980, 390, no. 971, pl. VIII; Bajusz et alii 2005, 508, fig. 49/19 = Bajusz 1980, 390, no. 957, pl. VIII; Bajusz et alii 2005, 526, fig. 32/55 = Bajusz 1980, 389, no. 905, pl. VII; Bajusz et alii 2005, 622, fig. 48/2/3 = Bajusz 1980, 389, no. 917, pl. VII; Bajusz et alii 2005, 848, fig. 53/37/2 = Bajusz 1980, 388, no. 873, pl. VI; Bajusz et alii 2005, 848, fig. 53/38/2 = Bajusz 1980, 388, no. 900, pl. VII; Bajusz et alii 2005, 765, fig. 48/42/1 = Bajusz 1980, 390, no. 938, pl. VIII; Bajusz et alii 2005, 758, fig. 48/4/3 = Bajusz 1980, 388, no. 868, pl. VI; Bajusz et alii 2005, 792, fig. 27/164–166 = Bajusz 1980, 389, no. 902, 918, 390, no. 941, pl. VII–VIII; Bajusz et alii 2005, 796, fig. 31/17 = Bajusz 1980, 388, no. 899, pl. VII.

¹⁵ Căținaș 1995, 791–795.

8. Tegula, fragment. MIT, inv. no. 646. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, type VI. Oval cartouche with *tabula ansata*, dim. 11.5 cm (Pl. II/8, Pl. VI/4).
9. *Bessalis* brick, fragmentary. MIT, inv. no. 665. Stamp *L(e)g(ionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, retrograde, type B II 3. Rectangular cartouche with *tabula ansata*, dim. 13 cm (Pl. I/2, Pl. V/2).
10. Tegula, fragment. MIT, inv. no. 673. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, type T VI 20 = B VI 52. Rectangular cartouche, dim. 12.5 cm (Pl. III/3, Pl. VI/10).
11. *Bessalis* brick, fragmentary. MIT, inv. no. 674 (old no. 129–1). Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, type P VI 70. Rectangular cartouche with *tabula ansata*, dim. 15 cm (Pl. II/6, Pl. VI/2).
12. *Bessalis* brick, fragmentary. MIT, inv. no. 675. Stamp *[L(e)]g(ionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, retrograde, type B II 3. Rectangular cartouche with *tabula ansata*, preserved dim. 9.5 cm (Pl. I/4, Pl. V/4).
13. Tegula, fragment. MIT, inv. no. 679. Stamp *[L(egionis)] V(quintae) Ma(cedonicae)*, type IX. Rectangular cartouche, preserved dim. 7 cm (Pl. IV/17).
14. Tegula, fragment. MIT, inv. no. 680 (old no. 268). Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, type VI. Rectangular cartouche, preserved dim. 9 cm (Pl. III/8).
15. *Lydion* brick, fragmentary. MIT, inv. no. 682. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, type VI. Rectangular cartouche, dim. 8 cm (Pl. III/9, Pl. VI/6).
16. Brick, fragmentary. MIT, inv. no. 1600. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, retrograde, type B VI 63. Rectangular cartouche, dim. 7.5 cm (Pl. IV/3, Pl. VII/3).
17. Brick, fragment. MIT, inv. no. 1602 (old no. 273). Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) Ma(cedonicae)*, type T IX 6 = P IX 8. Rectangular cartouche with *tabula ansata*, preserved dim. 8.5 cm.
18. Brick, fragment. MIT, inv. no. 2045. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, type P VI 94. Rectangular cartouche, dim. 6.5 cm (Pl. III/15, Pl. VII/5).
19. Tegula, fragmentary. MIT, inv. no. 2131. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, type VI. Rectangular cartouche with *tabula ansata*, dim. 7 cm (Pl. II/1).
20. Tegula, fragmentary. MIT, inv. no. 2132. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, retrograde, type VI. Rectangular cartouche, dim. 7.5 cm (Pl. IV/4).
21. Tegula, fragmentary. MIT, inv. no. 2133. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, type B VI 54. Rectangular cartouche, dim. 6.5 cm (Pl. III/6, Pl. VI/13).
22. Tegula, fragmentary. MIT, inv. no. 2134. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, type P VI 79. Rectangular cartouche with *tabula ansata*, dim. 9 cm (Pl. II/2).
23. Tegula, fragmentary. MIT, inv. no. 2135. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, type VI. Rectangular cartouche, dim. 6 cm (Pl. III/16, Pl. VII/10).
24. Tegula, fragmentary. MIT, inv. no. 2137. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, type P VI 82 = B VI 6. The letter L inverted and flipped. Rectangular cartouche with *tabula ansata*, dim. 9.5 cm (Pl. II/11).
25. Tegula, fragmentary. MIT, inv. no. 2138. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, type P VI 70. Rectangular cartouche with *tabula ansata*, dim. 15 cm (Pl. II/7, Pl. VI/3).
26. Tegula, fragmentary. MIT, inv. no. 2144. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae) p(iae)*, type T III 2. Rectangular cartouche, dim. 7 cm (Pl. I/8, Pl. V/7).
27. Tegula, fragment. MIT, inv. no. 2145. Stamp *[L(egionis) V(quintae)] M(acedonicae) p(iae) f(idelis)*, type T IV 3. Rectangular cartouche, preserved dim. 7.5 cm (Pl. I/9).
28. Tegula, fragment. MIT, inv. no. 2146. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, type T VI 20 = B VI 52. Rectangular cartouche, dim. 8.5 cm.

29. *Bessalis* brick, fragmentary. MIT, inv. no. 2151. Stamp *L(e)g(ionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, retrograde, type B II 3. Rectangular cartouche with *tabula ansata*, preserved dim. 11 cm (Pl. I/5, Pl. V/5).
30. Tegula, fragment. MIT, inv. no. 2152. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, retrograde. Rectangular cartouche, dim. 10.5 cm (Pl. IV/5, Pl. VII/11).
31. *Bessalis* brick. MIT, inv. no. 2153 (old no. 667). Stamp *L(e)g(ionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, type B II 3. Rectangular cartouche with *tabula ansata*, dim. 13 cm (Pl. I/3, Pl. V/3).

City and surroundings

Other tegular materials with the stamp of the legion have entered the collections of the Turda Museum before the beginning of the systematic archaeological investigations in the fortress on the Cetate plateau, following preventive investigations carried out by Ioan Țigăra on the territory of the civil settlement or in the villages around Turda or through acquisitions from various private individuals. Having been discovered in burial sites such as the southern necropolis, the western necropolis on “Dealul Zânelor” and “Dealul Șuia” and the cremation necropolis from Sopor de Câmpie,¹⁶ it must be considered that they are tegular materials produced in the workshops of the legion and reused for the construction of brick sarcophagi. The same can be assumed for those coming from the civil settlement areas (from the area of the “Strada Romană” and “Piața Romană” or “Valea Sândului”, or from various points on the territory of the city),¹⁷ where, however, the recycling of the tegular material in the medieval-modern period cannot be excluded. For the tile discovered at Moldovenești, reuse in medieval times is likely: several architectonic and sculptural fragments and funerary monuments arrived there in the Early Middle Ages as building materials for the Unitarian church or for the wall of the fortification on “Dealul Cetății”.¹⁸

Southern necropolis

32. *Bessalis* brick. MIT, inv. no. 1592. Stamp *[L(e)g(ionis)] V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, retrograde, type B II 3. Rectangular cartouche with *tabula ansata*, dim. 13 cm.
33. *Bessalis* brick. MIT, inv. no. 1594. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) Ma(acedonicae)*, type T IX 6 = P IX 8. Rectangular cartouche with *tabula ansata*, dim. 10 cm (Pl. IV/14, Pl. VII/8).
34. *Bessalis* brick. MIT, inv. no. 1596. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) Ma(acedonicae)*, type T IX 6 = P IX 8. Rectangular cartouche with *tabula ansata*, dim. 10 cm (Pl. IV/13, Pl. VII/6).
35. *Bessalis* brick. MIT, inv. no. 1597. Stamp *[Le]g(ionis) V(quintae) Mac(edonicae)*, type T VIII 3. Rectangular cartouche, dim. 11 cm (Pl. IV/11, Pl. VII/4).
36. *Bessalis* brick, fragmentary. MIT, inv. no. 1598. Stamp *L(egionis) Ma(acedonicae) V(quintae)*, with the letters M and V inverted, type T VI 34 = B VI 58 = P VI 109. Rectangular cartouche, dim. 10 cm (Pl. IV/9).
37. Tegula, fragment. MIT, inv. no. 1602 (old no. 273). Stamp *[L(egionis)] V(quintae) Ma(acedonicae)*, type T IX 6 = P IX 8. Rectangular cartouche with *tabula ansata*, dim. 10 cm (Pl. IV/12).
38. Tegula, fragment. MIT, inv. no. 1603. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae) p(iae)?*, type III?. Rectangular cartouche with *tabula ansata*, preserved dim. 7 cm (Pl. IV/18).

¹⁶ Protase 1976.

¹⁷ For the distribution of Roman finds in Turda and the plan of civil settlements in the ancient city of Potaissa – Bărbulescu 1994, 71–74, 75–80; Nemeti, Nemeti 2014, 85–98.

¹⁸ For the medieval fortress of Moldovenești – RepCluj, 282–283, no. 2.

Western necropolis (“Dealul Zânelor” – “Dealul Șuia”)

39. Tegula, fragment. MIT, inv. no. 1956. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) Ma(acedonicae)*, type VI. Rectangular cartouche with *tabula ansata*, preserved dim. 5.5 cm (Pl. II/3, Pl. V/14).
 40. Tegula, fragment. MIT, inv. no. 622. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, retrograde, type T VI 10 = B VI 48 = P VI 86. Rectangular cartouche with *tabula ansata*, dim. 8.5 cm (Pl. II/12, Pl. VI/8).
 41. Tegula, fragment. MIT, inv. no. 628. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, type T VI 21. Rectangular cartouche, preserved dim. 8 cm. Next to the stamp is the imprint of a studded caliga sole (Pl. III/12, Pl. VI/15).
 42. Tegula, fragment. MIT, inv. no. 632. Stamp [*L(egionis) V(quintae)*] *M(acedonicae)*. The type cannot be determined. Rectangular cartouche, preserved dim. 5 cm (Pl. III/7).
 43. Tegula, fragment. MIT, inv. no. 633. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, type T VI 20 = B VI 52. Rectangular cartouche, preserved dim. 10 cm.
 44. Tegula, fragment. MIT, inv. no. 965. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, retrograde, type VI. Rectangular cartouche, 14 cm (Pl. IV/8, Pl. VII/12).
 45. Tegula, fragment. MIT, inv. no. 970. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, type P VI 114. Rectangular cartouche, dim. 7 cm (Pl. III/14, Pl. VII/1).
- “Piața Romană” (formerly “Piața Ecaterina Varga”)**
46. Brick, fragment. MIT, inv. no. 580. Stamp *L(e)g(ionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, retrograde, type P II 4. Rectangular cartouche with *tabula ansata*, dim. 9.5 cm (Pl. I/6).
 47. *Bessalis* brick. MIT, inv. no. 819. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, type T VI 34 = B VI 20 = P VI 103. Rectangular cartouche, dim. 11 cm (Pl. III/4, Pl. VI/11).
 48. Tegula, fragment. MIT, old inv. no. 1088–2. Two stamps in a cross *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, type T VI 5. Rectangular cartouche with *tabula ansata*, preserved dim. 9.5 cm (Pl. II/4, Pl. V/15).
 49. Tegula, fragment. MIT, inv. no. 1113. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, type P VI 99. Rectangular cartouche, dim. 10.5 cm (Pl. III/10, Pl. V/16).
 50. Tegula, fragment. MIT, inv. no. 1115. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae) p(iae) f(idelis)*, type T IV 4. Rectangular cartouche, dim. 8 cm (Pl. I/10, Pl. V/8).
 51. *Bessalis* brick. MIT, inv. no. 1120. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, with the letters M and V inverted, type T VI 34 = B VI 58 = P VI 109. Rectangular cartouche, dim. 10 cm (Pl. IV/10, Pl. VII/14).
 52. Tegula, fragment. MIT, inv. no. 1121 (old no. 1088–9). Stamp [*L(egionis)*] *V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, type P VI 70. Rectangular cartouche with *tabula ansata*, preserved dim. 9 cm (Pl. II/5, Pl. VI/1).
 53. Brick, fragment. MIT, inv. no. 1132. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae) Ant(oniniana)*, type T X 1. Rectangular cartouche, preserved dim. 9 cm (Pl. IV/15, Pl. VII/9).
 54. Tegula, fragment. MIT, inv. no. 1134. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, type B VI 39. Rectangular cartouche with *tabula ansata*, dim. 10 cm (Pl. I/13, Pl. V/10).
 55. Tegula, fragment. MIT, inv. no. 1117. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, type B VI 39. Rectangular cartouche with *tabula ansata*, dim. 10 cm (Pl. I/16, Pl. V/11).
 56. Tegula, fragment. MIT, inv. no. 1123 (old no. 954). Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, type B VI 39. Rectangular cartouche with *tabula ansata*, dim. 10 cm.
 57. Brick, fragment. MIT, inv. no. 1118. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, type T VI 21. Rectangular cartouche, dim. 11 cm (Pl. III/1).

“Strada Romană”

58. Tile, fragment. MIT, inv. no. 1641. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, type VI, indeterminate variant. Rectangular cartouche, dim. 10 cm.

“Strada B. P. Hasdeu”

59. Tile, fragment. MIT, inv. no. 1550. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae) p(iae) f(idelis)*, type T IV. Rectangular cartouche, dim. 9.5 cm (Pl. I/11).

“Valea Sândului”

60. *Bessalis* brick, fragment. MIT, inv. no. 2050. Stamp *L(e)g(ionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, retrograde, type P II 4. Rectangular cartouche, preserved dim. 7 cm (Pl. I/7, Pl. V/6).
 61. Tegula, fragment. MIT, inv. no. 2051. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, retrograde, type P VI 87. Rectangular cartouche with *tabula ansata*, preserved dim. 9 cm (Pl. II/13, Pl. VI/9).
 62. Tegula, fragment. MIT, inv. no. 2052. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, type VI. Rectangular cartouche, dim. 9 cm (Pl. III/13).

Salt lakes area (“Durgău” point)

63. Tegula, fragment. MIT, inv. no. 861. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) [M(acedonicae)]*, type T VI 20 = B VI 52. Rectangular cartouche, preserved dim. 6 cm (Pl. III/2).

Moldovenesti (Cluj County)

64. Tegula. MIT, inv. no. 1636. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, type P VI 100. Rectangular cartouche, dim. 6.5 cm (Pl. III/11, Pl. VI/5).

Soporu de Câmpie (Cluj County)

65. *Lydion* brick, fragment. MIT, inv. no. 1708. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, retrograde, type T VI 36 = P VI 105. Rectangular cartouche, dim. 9 cm (Pl. IV/6).

From the territory of Turda (Unknown locations)

66. Tegula, fragment. MIT, inv. no. 23. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, retrograde, type P VI 84. Rectangular cartouche with *tabula ansata*, dim. 8.5 cm (Pl. II/14, Pl. VI/14).
 67. Tegula, fragment. MIT, inv. no. 56 (old no. 40–13). Stamp *[L(egionis) V(quintae)] Ma(acedonicae)*, retrograde, type IX. Rectangular cartouche, preserved dim. 7 cm (Pl. IV/16, Pl. VII/7).
 68. Tegula, fragment. MIT, inv. no. 455. Stamp *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, retrograde, type B VI 62. Rectangular cartouche, dim. 10 cm (Pl. IV/2, Pl. VII/2).
 69. *Bessalis* brick. MIT, inv. no. 992. Stamp *Leg(ionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*, type T I 3. Rectangular cartouche with *tabula ansata*, dim 11 cm (Pl. I/1, Pl. V/1).
 70. Tegula. MIT, inv. no. 1765. Stamp *[L(egionis)] V(quintae) M(acedonicae) p(iae) f(idelis) M(aximiniana)*. Ovoid cartouche, dim. 9.5 cm (Pl. I/12, Pl. V/9).

Typology of the stamps (Pl. VIII–X)

The typological classification of these stamps on tegular material from the old collections of the Turda History Museum (discovered before the beginning of the preventive and systematic investigations of the legionary fortress on the Cetate plateau) aims to correlate them with the various variants discovered in the buildings of the fortress and to establish a chronological framework. With the increase in the number of stamp discoveries due to research in the fortress, the typology becomes more complicated and many variants of the type VI (the LVM short type) appear. Some of them can no longer be recognised in the schematic drawings of István Téglás or János Szilágyi, but the

exact typological framework can be established for most of them.¹⁹ Some of the stamps found in “Piața Romană” (formerly Ecaterina Varga) or on the territory of Potaissa actually belonged to the István Téglás collection, but Ioan Țigăra preferred to inventory them according to their place of discovery and thus their belonging to the collection becomes uncertain.²⁰

All 70 stamps illustrate most of the types known to date from Potaissa (types I–IV, VI, VIII–X) (Pl. VIII–X), to which a new type (XII) must be added and a few fragmentary pieces whose type cannot be established (Pl. IV/16–18).

Type I LEGVM (Grec type 4) is a stamp where the name of the legion is abbreviated as *LEG(ionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*.²¹ Type I is known through only one specimen (variant T I 2, with the ligature EGVM). The stamp is printed on a brick, which comes from somewhere in the city (no. 69, Pl. I/1) and it should be noted that none of the variants of this type drawn by István Téglás correspond to the preserved specimen.

Type II LGVM retrograde (Grec type 9) also belongs to the category of long epigraphic types, where the name of the legion is abbreviated as *L(e)g(ionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)* (Pl. I/2–7).²² Type II is better represented in the old collections (nos. 9, 12, 29, 31, 46, 60) and three specimens from the István Téglás collection are found drawn in the notebooks (nos. 9, 12, 31). Two others come from “Piața Romană” and “Valea Sândului”. All of them are printed on *bessales* bricks used in the construction of hypocaust pilae and the frequency of the discoveries in the fortress indicates their origin from the hypocaust of the *thermae* (rooms N, M, L, K and I). Variants T II 1 = B II 3 and a variant with a smaller cartouche, probably P II 4, are illustrated.

Type III LVMP (Grec type 13). M. Grec knew of only one variant, appearing only on *tegulae*.²³ In the István Téglás collection, there is only one variant of this type (variant B III 3), a small stamp printed on a *tegula* (no. 26, Pl. I/8). It should be noted that the *pia* epithet appears earliest in AD 195–197 and is probably received by the Fifth Legion during the time of Septimius Severus, due to its loyalty to the future emperor in the civil wars.²⁴

¹⁹ We will use the typology resulting from the analysis of the stamps from the *centuriae*, the *praetentura sinistra*, the *thermae* and the *principia*. The capital letters stand for: B – barracks, T – *thermae*, P – *principia*, the number of the type is noted with Roman numerals from I to XI, and the number of the variant with Arabic numerals. Some variants were found in the three published contexts and are then equated, for example B VI 46 = T VI 7 = P VI 83, to count a variant only once. For the typological tree see Pl. VIII–X.

²⁰ E.g., the double stamp no. 48 inventoried as being from the “Piața Ecaterina Varga” area, but found in the inventories and notebooks of István Téglás (Bajusz et alii 2005, 507, fig. 48/53/2 = Bajusz 1980, 390, no. 956, pl. VIII).

²¹ Grec 2000, 130, fig. 70, 1–4; Nemeti 2017, 146, pl. LXXXVIII, 1–2; Nemeti 2019, 130, fig. 307/Type I, 1–7; Nemeti 2020, 93–94, pl. I/Type I.

²² Grec 2000, 132, fig. 75/1–2; Nemeti 2017, 146, pl. LXXXVIII, 3; Nemeti 2019, 130, fig. 307/Type II, 1–2; Nemeti 2020, 94, pl. I/Type II.

²³ Grec 2000, 134–135, fig. 80; Nemeti 2017, 147, pl. LXXXIX, 1–5; Nemeti 2019, 137, fig. 307/Type III, 1–2; Nemeti 2020, 94, pl. I/Type III.

²⁴ Nemeti 2017, 147–149; Nemeti 2019, 141–144.

Type IV LVMPF (Grec type 14), where the name and epithets of the legion are abbreviated as *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae) P(iae) F(idelis)*,²⁵ is found in the fortress in a large number of variants. Only three specimens, printed on *tegulae*, are known in the old collections. One specimen is from the István Téglás collection (no. 27), while two others come from the preventive investigations carried out by Ioan Țigăra in “Piața Ecaterina Varga” (presently “Piața Romană”) in 1952 (nos. 50, 59) (Pl. I/9–11). Two pieces belong to known variants T IV 3 and T IV 4, while piece no. 59 is a different variant (related in style to the type T III 1 stamp). The *pia fidelis* variant appears earliest in an inscription dated to the joint reign of Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Geta, *i.e.* in 198–211 AD, namely on the *pondera examinata* found in the legionary fortress.²⁶ The epithet is preserved until the common reign of Valerianus, Gallienus and Valerianus Iunior (256–258 AD) when it appears as *III pia fidelis*.²⁷

It can therefore be established that the epithets *pia* and *pia fidelis* do not yet appear in inscriptions before the reigns of Septimius Severus and his sons. They are preserved by the legion even later, appearing associated with imperial epithets such as *Antoniniana*, *Severiana* (in inscriptions and on stamps), *Maximiniana* (on stamps) and *Gordiana* (in inscriptions and on stamps), and are attested up to Gallienus.²⁸

Type VI LVM (Grec type 12, also called the Potaissa type)²⁹ is the best represented among the stamps found on the tegular material from the old collections of the Turda History Museum. On these stamps, the name of the legion is abbreviated shortly as *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae)*. Of the 70 items from the old collections of the Turda History Museum, 45 stamps belong to this VI type (Pl. I/13–16, II/1–14, III/1–16, IV/1–10). Upon publishing the stamps from the headquarters’ building (*principia*), we tried to divide the stamps of the type VI into several series according to the shape of the border and the letters.³⁰ Thus, there is a series with a *tabula ansata* border divided according to the shape of the letters into variants with normal or retrograde writing and inverted letters. Of the first category with normal writing and a *tabula ansata* border we know of thirteen examples (nos. 54, 4, 5, 55, 19, 22, 39, 48, 52, 11, 25, 8, 6), and only three pieces have retrograde writing (nos. 40, 61, 66). From the category with the letter L inverted and in ligature with V we know of two examples of the same variant (P VI 82 = B VI 6), both from the István Téglás collection (nos. 7, 24). From the category with a simple rectangular or ovoid border, most belong to the series with normal writing (nos. 57, 63, 10, 47, 3, 21, 42, 14, 15, 49, 64, 41, 3, 62, 45, 18, 23) and only eight have retrograde writing (nos. 1, 68, 16, 20, 30, 65, 44, 2). Two pieces belong to the LMV variant with inverted M (T VI 34 = B VI 58 = P VI 109), a variant present in all the contexts published so far (nos. 36, 51).

²⁵ Grec 2000, 135, fig. 81,1–5; Nemeti 2017, 147, pl. XC, 1–6; Nemeti 2019, 137, fig. 308/Type IV, 1–12; Nemeti 2020, 94, pl. I/Type IV.

²⁶ Bărbulescu 2012, 237–245, no. 48–52.

²⁷ CIL III 875.

²⁸ Nemeti 2017, 147–149; Nemeti 2019, 141–144.

²⁹ Grec 2000, 133–134, fig. 78,1–20; Nemeti 2017, 149–150, pl. XCI–XCVI; Nemeti 2019, 137, fig. 308–309/Type VI, 1–38; Nemeti 2020, 94, pl. I–IV/Type VI.

³⁰ Nemeti 2020, 94.

Type VIII LEG V MAC (Grec type 1) also belongs to the long epigraphic type, a type similar to that prevalent on the legion's stamped material in the Oescus I – Troesmis period.³¹ Only one stamp of this type is known, impressed on a *bessalis* brick from the southern necropolis of Potaissa (no. 35, Pl. IV/11). The type VIII bricks are known at the Potaissa fortress predominantly in the *thermae* (many hypocaust pilae from rooms L, M, K and I).³²

Type IX LVMA (Grec type 11)³³ is known in the old collections through three examples stamped on *bessales* bricks, all from the southern necropolis (nos. 33, 34, 37, Pl. IV/12–14). It is basically the same signaculum known from the *thermae* and the *principia* (T IX 6 = P IX 8). Most of the examples of this variant are located in the hypocaust pilae of the K and L rooms of the *thermae*.³⁴

Type X LVMANT (Grec type 18), abbreviated *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae) Ant(oniniana)*³⁵, has two variants and rarely appears on bricks and tiles in the fortress. A similar stamp belonging to the variant T X 1, stamped on a brick (Pl. IV/15), comes from Ioan Țigăra's research in the "Piața Romană". The Fifth Macedonian Legion had the epithet *Antoniniana* from the beginning of Caracalla's reign as sole emperor, after the murder of Geta in December AD 211 and before the war in Germania.³⁶ The epithet is renewed by Elagabalus sometime before AD 220. The stamps with the abbreviation LVM ANT can be dated post AD 212 to the end of Elagabalus' reign in AD 222. The use after that date is not justified, especially in the context of the *damnatio memoriae* edict for Elagabalus and the appearance of other imperial epithets for the Fifth Macedonian Legion.³⁷

Type XII LVMPFM retrograde does not exist in any previous typology and a stamp with this text is reported for the first time in publications. The stamp, in retrograde writing (no. 70, Pl. I/12), has six letters which are abbreviations for *L(egionis) V(quintae) M(acedonicae) P(iae) F(idelis) M(aximiniana)*. The stamps where the legion has this imperial epithet are rare and we know of only one example from research in the fortress, not yet published. Due to the *Maximiniana* imperial epithet of the legion, this type of stamp is dated in AD 235–238 and is so far the latest datable stamp from the Potaissa fortress. In the known inscriptions, the legion does not have the epithet *Maximiniana*, which is however borne by other legions of the Empire, such as *legio VII Gemina*,³⁸ *legio III Augusta*,³⁹ *legio VII Claudia*⁴⁰ or *legio XIII Gemina*.⁴¹

³¹ Grec 2000, 129, fig. 68, 1–2; Nemeti 2019, 138, fig. 311/Type VIII, 1–3.

³² Nemeti 2019, 141, fig. 313.

³³ Grec 2000, 132, fig. 77, 1–10; Nemeti 2019, 138/Type IX, 1–7; Nemeti 2020, 94, pl. IV/Type IX.

³⁴ Nemeti 2019, 138, fig. 313.

³⁵ Grec 2000, 136, fig. 86; Nemeti 2019, 138, fig. 311/Type IX, 1–2.

³⁶ Fitz 1983, 76 (year 212 AD).

³⁷ Nemeti 2019, 144–145.

³⁸ CIL II 6253, 01 r, s.

³⁹ AE 1948, 209 = AE 1954, 258.

⁴⁰ IDR II 141.

⁴¹ HD 072249.

Type XIII LEG V MC (Grec type 2 = Doruțiu-Boilă c / Alexandrescu c1–3). Upon publishing the stamps of the type VIII LEG V MAC from the *thermae*, we noticed that an evolutionary line of the LEG V MAC stamps from Troesmis is the MA ligature, not yet present on the type VIII from Potaissa. At Troesmis, this evolutionary line will lead to the disappearance of the letter A and to the appearance of stamps of the Doruțiu-Boilă c / Alexandrescu c1–3 (LEG V MC)⁴² type, which has no further line of development (considered absent for the moment from the Potaissa stamp repertory).⁴³ When re-evaluating the stamps of the old collections, in an attempt to identify in the notebooks and inventories of István Téglás the 31 stamps found in the deposits of the Turda History Museum, we identified a stamp belonging to the Doruțiu-Boilă c / Alexandrescu c1–3 (LEG V MC) type. It is a stamp with a *tabula ansata* border that has a V+M ligature and is missing the letter A, thus being read *Leg(ionis) V(quintae) M(a)c(edonicae)*.⁴⁴

The distribution and chronology of stamps

Most of the stamps from the old collections of the Turda History Museum come from the István Téglás collection and were gathered from all over Turda. The fact that they mainly illustrate variants of the type VI indicates their origin especially from the Roman fortress. In fact, István Téglás indicates in the 1906 inventory and in the notebooks the origin as fortress (“castrum-hegy”) or “Dealul Cetății” (“Várhegy”). For other stamps in his collection, the place of origin is also “Dealul Cetății”, but from the civil settlement area on its slopes (“Alsómal”, namely the eastern slope, “Aranyosmál”, the southeastern slope towards the Arieș), but also “Valea Sândului” (the southern slope, with various specifications – “Közép-Szindvölgy”). Some stamps are found on “Dealul Zânelor” (“Tündérhegy”), especially on the promontory and the slope towards the Arieș River (“Kis-Tündér”, “Kis-Tündérhegy”). Other stamps from the old collections, inventoried by Ioan Țigăra in the first decade after the establishment of the city museum, come from the fortress⁴⁵ and from various points on the territory of the modern city of Turda. Thus, some of the stamps originate from the immediate vicinity of “Dealul Cetății”, such as those from “Valea Sândului”, from “Piața Ecaterina Varga” (presently “Piața Romană”) or from the “Strada Romană”. Others, such as those from “Strada B. P. Hașdeu” or the area of the salt lakes may have ended up there as recycled material in the Middle Ages. It is, however, certain that the legion’s stamped tegular material has been recycled since the Roman period, as indicated by the findings of stamped *bessales* bricks reused for the construction of sarcophagi in the southern necropolis (“Râtul Sânmihăienilor” point), the western necropolis (“Dealul Zânelor” – “Dealul Șuia”), or the *lydion* brick found in the cemetery of Sopor de Câmpie.

⁴² Doruțiu-Boilă 1972, 45–62; ISM V 215 (p. 236); Doruțiu-Boilă 1990, 251–271; Matei-Popescu 2010, 47–50, 75–76; Alexandrescu 2016, 245–246.

⁴³ Grec 2000, 129.

⁴⁴ Bajusz et alii 2005, 758, fig. 48/4/3 = Bajusz 1980, 388, no. 868, pl. VI (discovered on the eastern slope of “Dealul Zânelor”, the so-called “Zâna Mică” point). The type was previously defined at Potaissa by M. Grec, who identified the same single stamp from the inventory published in 1980 by István Bajusz. The publication of the notebooks in 2005 confirms the correctness of M. Grec’s identification.

⁴⁵ Those coming from the fortress, especially from the *centuriae*, the *latus sinistrum* and the *horrea*, partially researched by Ioan Țigăra, but also by Mihai Bărbulescu and Zaharia Milea, will be published in the monograph dedicated to these contexts.

For other materials, found in the area of some medieval constructions, such as the fortress area in the centre (“Strada B. P. Haşdeu”) or the one from Moldoveneşti, their recycling as building materials at the beginning of the Middle Ages is likely.

It should be noted as well that the chronological classification of the stamps is also partially verified on the occasion of the publication of the stamps from the old collections of the Turda History Museum. The most illustrative is the case of the *bessales* bricks reused in the southern necropolis:⁴⁶ here one stamp belongs to type VIII LEG V MAC (variant T VIII 3) and three to type IX LVMA (variant T IX VI), variants that are known so far only from the hypocaust pilae of the thermae (rooms L, M, K, I for type VIII, rooms K and L for variant T IX VI). Both variants T VIII 3 and T IX 6 belong to the first generation of stamps from Potaissa, which still retain the *signacula* used at Troesmis (for the T VIII 3 variant) or details found only on stamps from Moesia Inferior (the makron sign on the numeral V, the abbreviation MA for Macedonica). Also in the western necropolis (“Dealul Zânelor” – “Dealul Şuia”)⁴⁷ there are two rare stamp variants belonging to type VI, such as the one with a positive border (no. 39, for which we can bring as an analogy a single positive border on a stamp from the *principia*, but belonging to type XI LEVM, namely variant P XI 3) and a single stamp with a long border (no. 44, type VI LVM retrograde). Thus, the rare stamps in the western necropolis probably also indicate *signacula* with designs that were no longer reproduced in later production.

The situation is different for the stamps discovered by Ioan Țigăra during his preventive excavation in “Piața Ecaterina Varga” (presently “Piața Romană”). Here, on an area of 760 m² excavated for the construction of an elementary school, wall substructures in the *opus incertum* technique, a pavement with 8 stone slabs measuring 0.85/1 m-1 m, and architectural fragments (Doric capital measuring 0.28 × 0.64 × 0.64 m,⁴⁸ column base measuring 0.72 × 0.70 × 0.30 m, column shaft with a 0.52 m diameter; Corinthian capital fragment measuring 0.49 × 0.11⁴⁹) were found. The column base was placed on a massive block of 0.96 × 0.85 × 0.28 m, placed on a mortar-bonded brick substructure (two rows of bricks measuring 0.40 × 0.18 × 0.05 m). 11 m to the south-east side of the foundation pit is a block laid on a similar arrangement.⁵⁰ Besides the stamped tegular material, various archaeological materials were found (pottery, lamps, coins, bronze and iron objects, bone hairpins) partially published by Ioan Țigăra. The 17 discovered coins from the period of the Principate are distributed from Hadrian to Marcia Otacilia Severa (between 118 and 249 AD), seven of them belonging to the Severan family (Septimius Severus – 3, Caracalla – 2, Iulia Mamaea – 1, Iulia Maesa – 1).⁵¹ Two stamps come from here, one belonging to type IV LVMPF (no. 50, variant T IV 4) and one belonging to type X LVMANT (no. 53,

⁴⁶ The bricks probably come from the sarcophagi identified by Ioan Țigăra during the monitoring of a ditch in 1956, near Drumul Bădenilor (having been inventoried in 1956) – Țigăra 1961, 197–199.

⁴⁷ Tombs identified by Ioan Țigăra between 1951–1957 – Țigăra 1961, 200–202 (inventoried in 1952, 1953 and 1960).

⁴⁸ MIT, inv. no. 657.

⁴⁹ MIT, inv. no. 732.

⁵⁰ RepCJ, s.v. Turda, no. 25; Țigăra 1956, 93–98; Milea, Bărbulescu 1972, 478, no. 8, fig. 8 (Doric capital “Strada Ecaterina Varga”), 480, no. 27, fig. 27 (Corinthian capital fragment “Strada Ecaterina Varga”); Jude, Pop 1973, 10–11, no. 9; Winkler, Hopârtean 1973, 73–90, 117.

⁵¹ Țigăra 1960, 549–551.

variant T X 1). Type IV where the legion has the epithet *pia fidelis* dates from the joint reign of Septimius Severus and Caracalla, and type X with the epithet Antoniniana only during the reigns of Caracalla and Elagabalus. It is difficult to explain the use of tegular material with the legion's stamp in this civil building in the *municipium Septimium*,⁵² other than by the recycling, in the late phases of existence in the mid-3rd century AD, of building material from Severan buildings in the fortress.

We can thus outline two phases of recycling of building material produced by the legion in the civil environment in the Roman period: an earlier phase in the southern and western necropolises (stamps belonging to types VIII and IX, frequent in the early phase of the building of the fortress) and a later phase in the civil building of the "Piața Ecaterina Varga/Romană" (with stamps belonging to types IV and X, frequent in the Severan phase).

In fact, the distribution of the recycled stamped tegular material suggests, once again, the main core of the civil space at Potaissa: on the eastern and southern slopes of "Dealul Cetății", on the slope of "Dealul Zânelor" towards the Arieș River, in the "Piața Romană", leaving the western area of "Dealul Zânelor" and "Dealul Șuia", or "Râțul Sânmihăienilor", respectively, to be reserved for funerary spaces (the western and southern necropolises) (Pl. XI).

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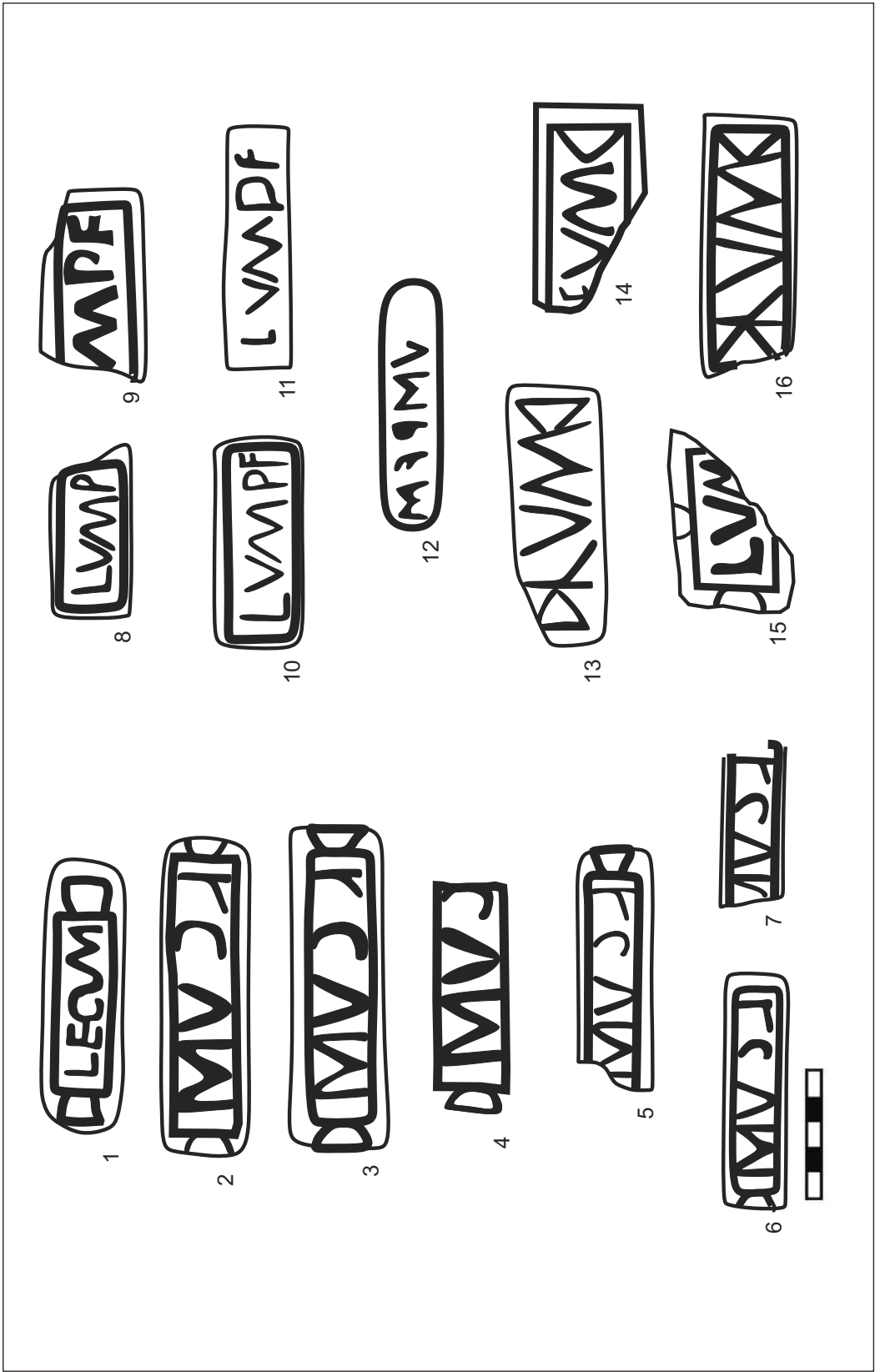
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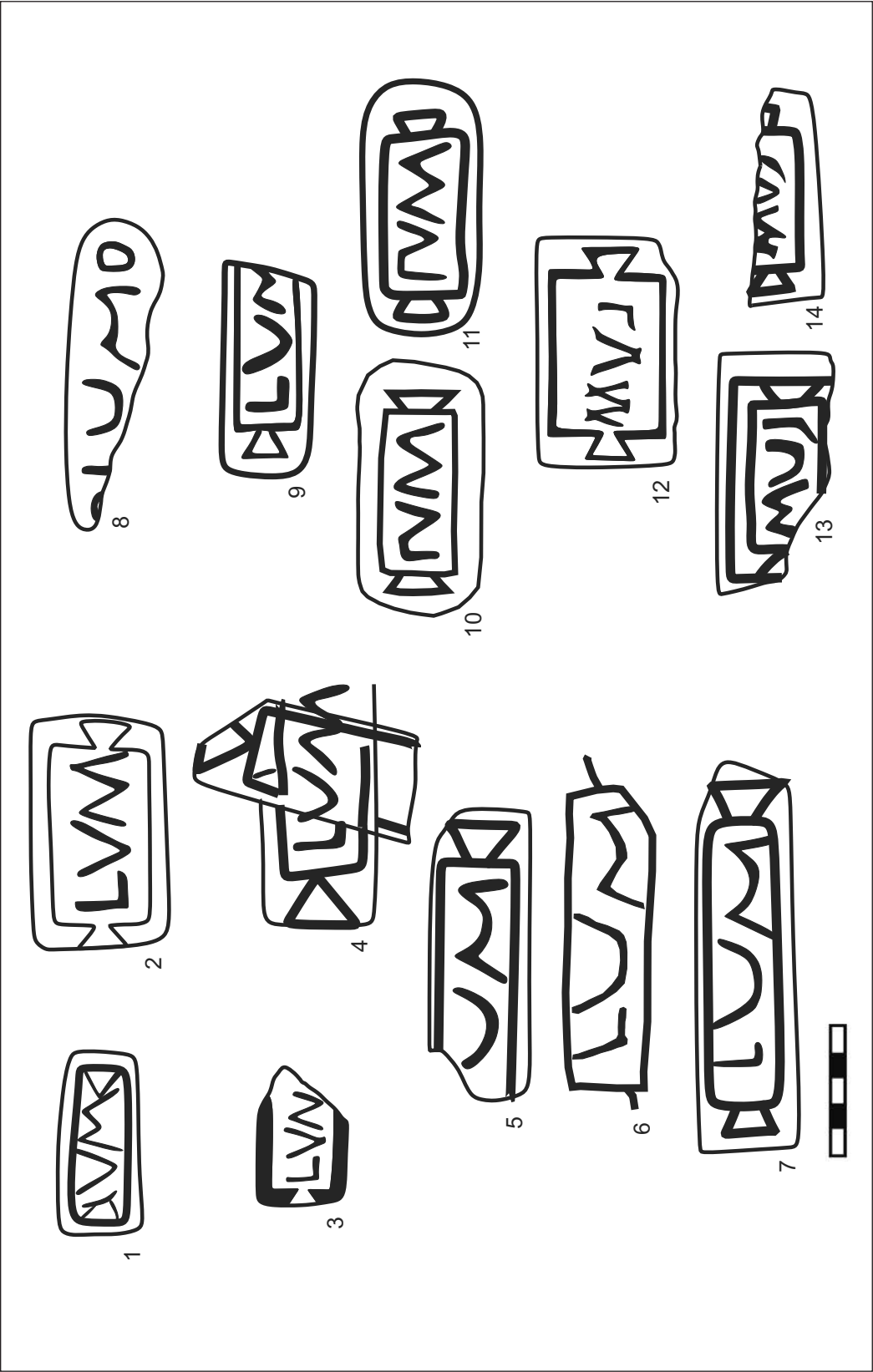
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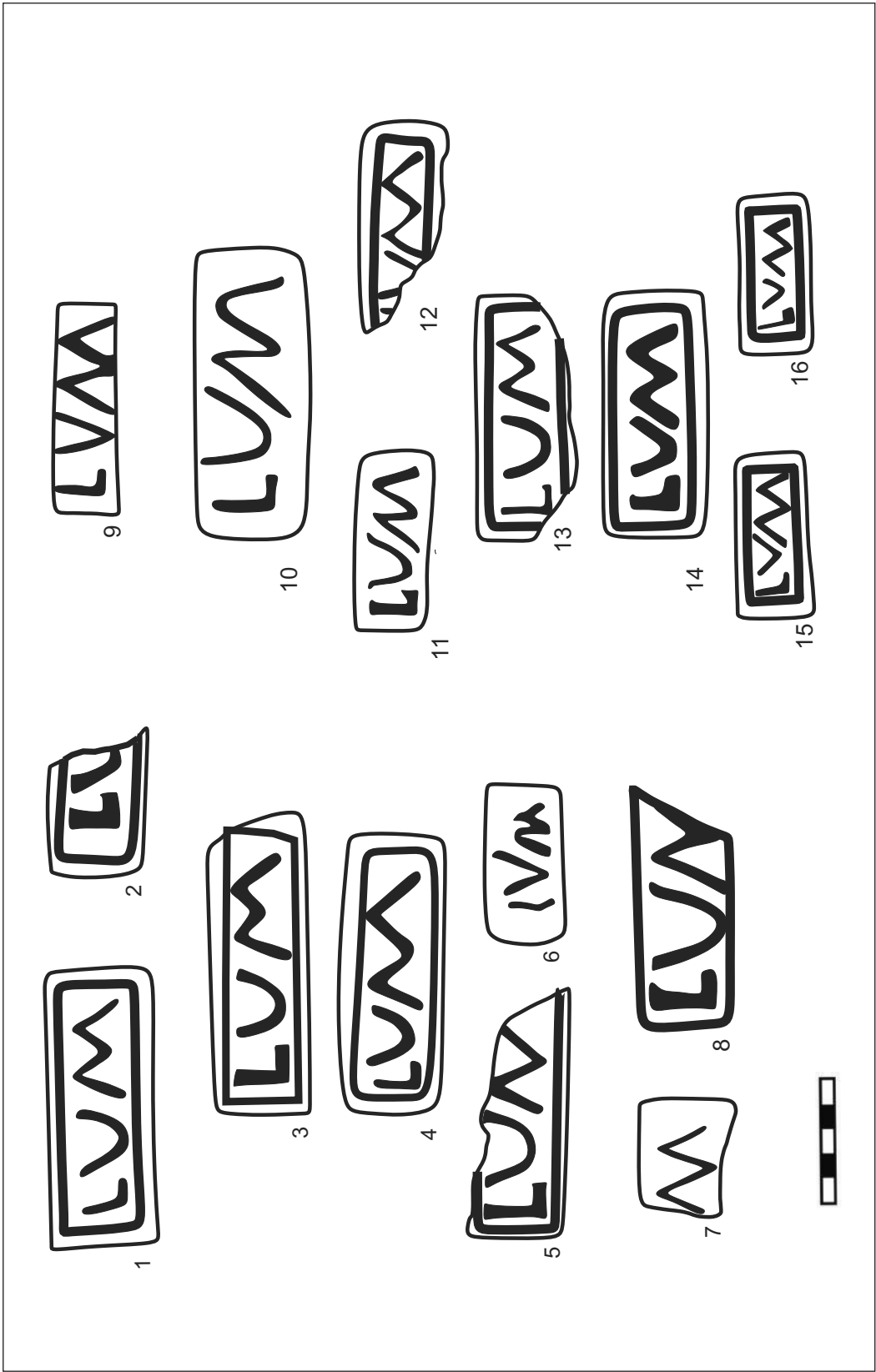
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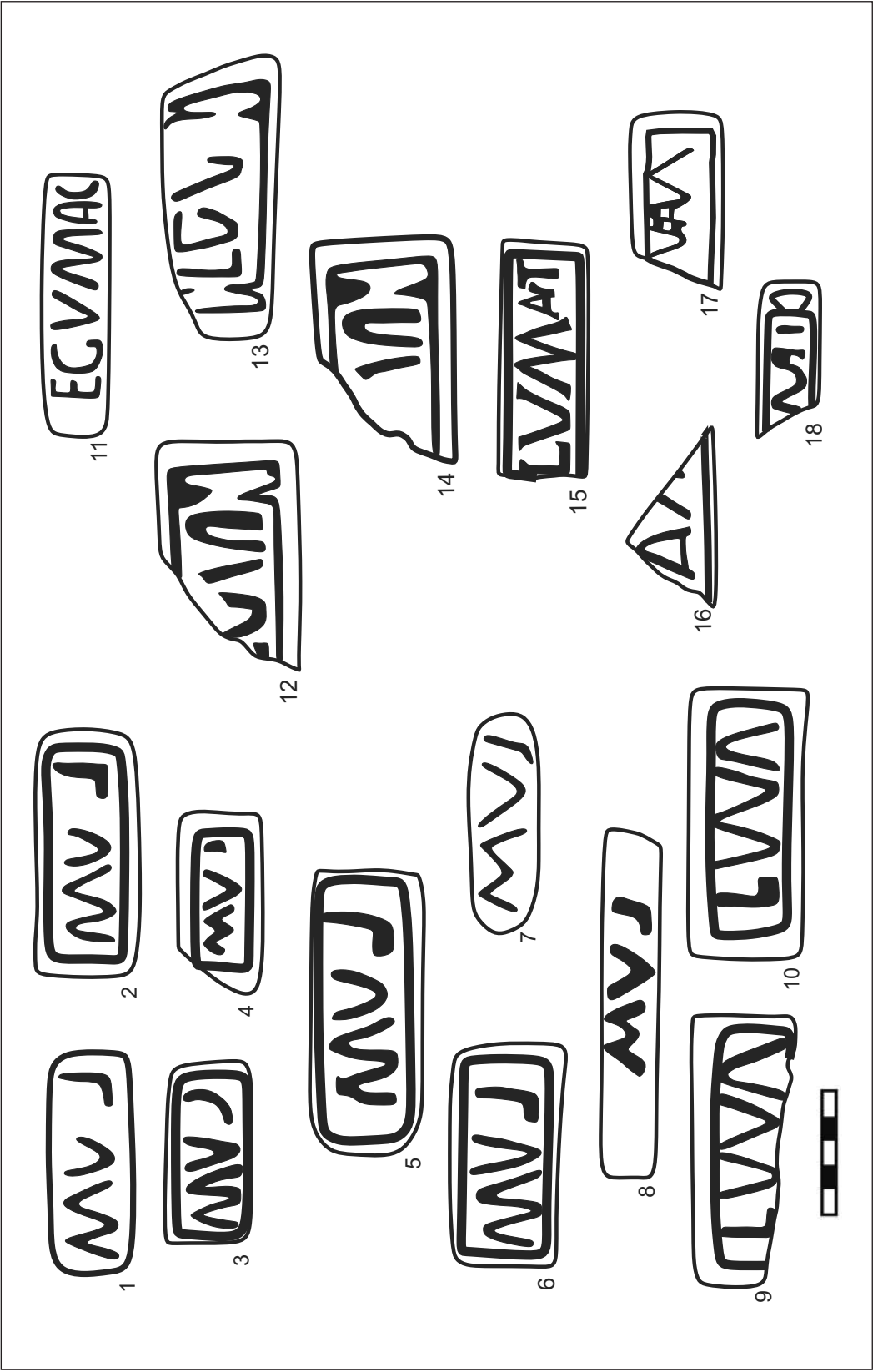
Pl. I. The tile stamps from the old collections of the Turda History Museum (drawings by author).



Pl. II. The tile stamps from the old collections of the Turda History Museum (drawings by author).



Pl. III. The tile stamps from the old collections of the Turda History Museum (drawings by author).



PL. IV. The tile stamps from the old collections of the Turda History Museum (drawings by author).



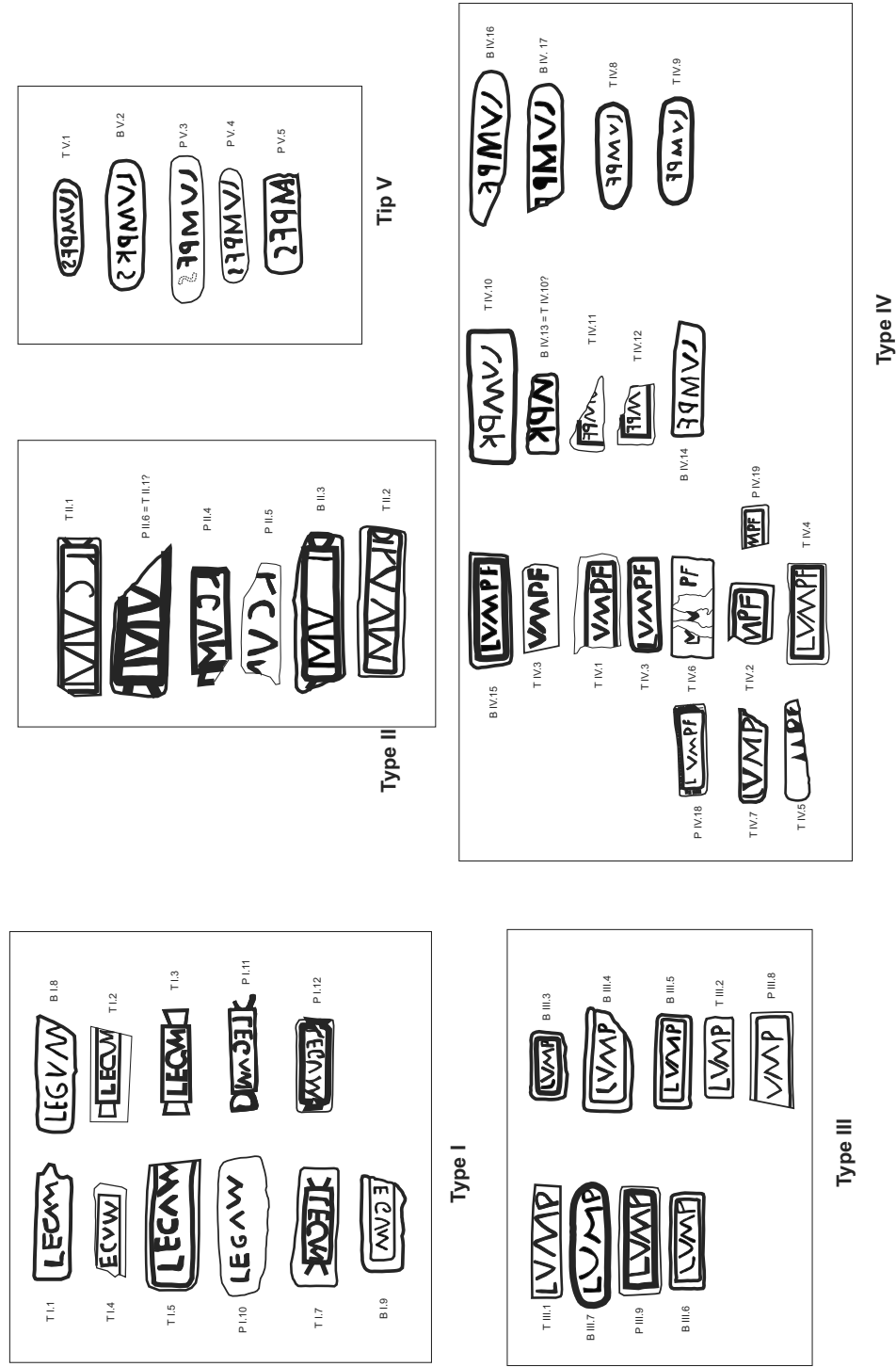
Pl. V. The tile stamps from the old collections of the Turda History Museum (photos by author; no scale).



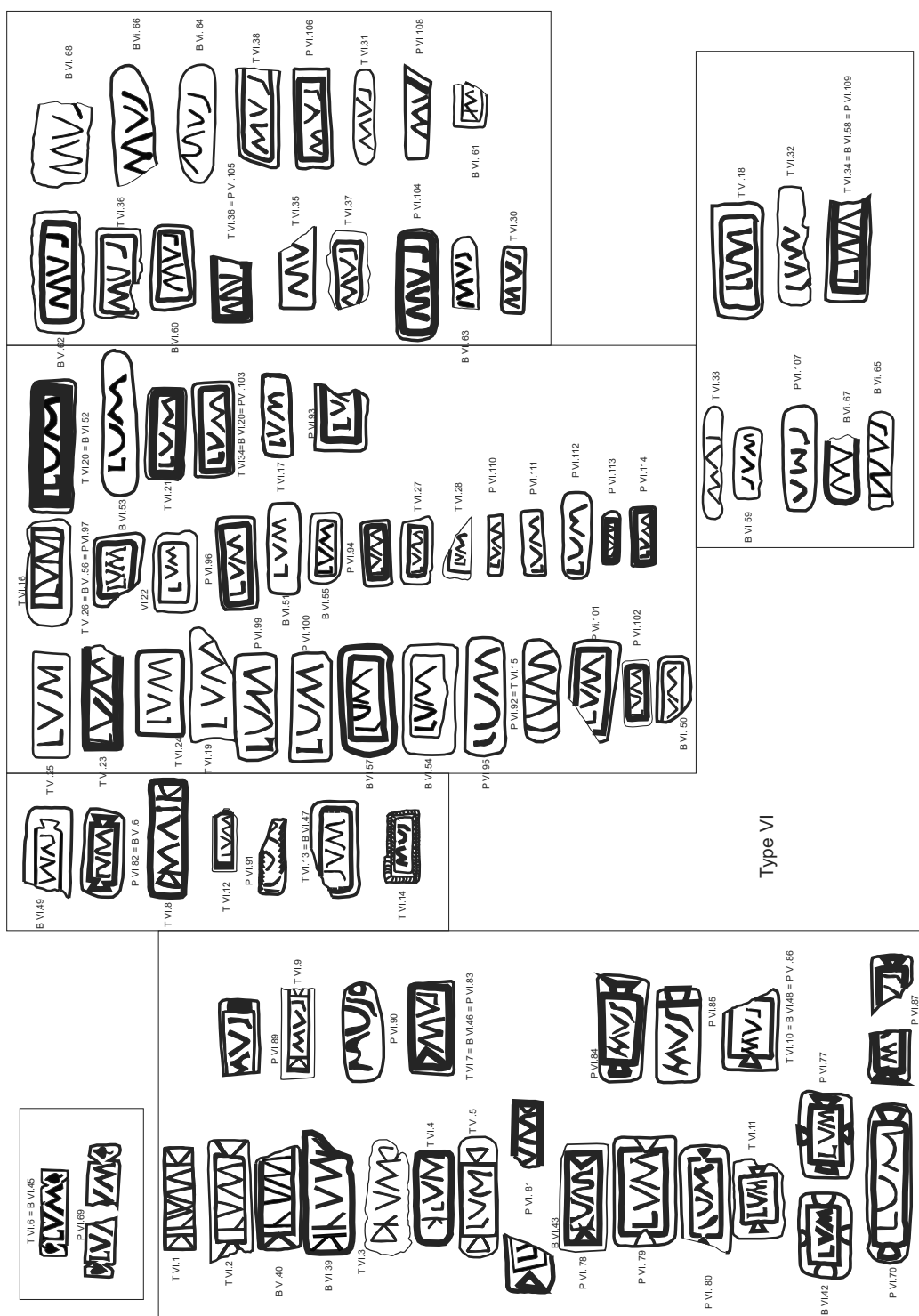
Pl. VI. The tile stamps from the old collections of the Turda History Museum (photos by author; no scale).



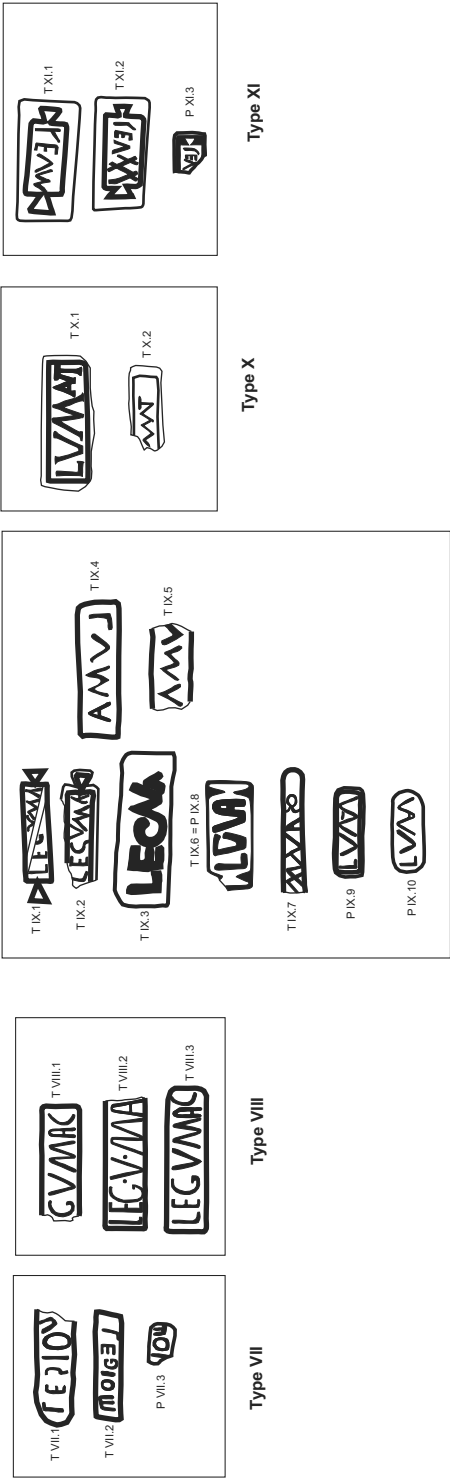
Pl. VII. The tile stamps from the old collections of the Turda History Museum (photos by author; no scale).



Pl. VIII. The typological tree of the tile stamps from the legionary camp from Potaissa.



Pl. IX. The typological tree of the tile stamps from the legionary camp from Potaissa.



Pl. X. The typological tree of the tile stamps from the legionary camp from Potaissa.



Pl. XI. Map of the discoveries.

A RARE FIND AT THE POTAISSA LEGIONARY FORTRESS: TWO TERRACOTTA *OINOCHOAI* (PINCH-MOUTHED FLAGONS) AS PRIVATE IMPORTS

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Abstract: The archaeological excavations carried out in the year 2012 within the *praetentura sinistra* (*centuriae cohortes quingenariae*) of the legionary fortress from Potaissa led to the discovery of a special type of pottery that could belong to the category of the legionary wares. However, the two terracotta *oinochoai* do not belong to the repertoire of wares produced by the local workshops associated with the fortress. To this date they represent a rare type, as out of the approximately 10.000 individual wares analyzed for this garrison, only two such finds were made. They were recovered from the same waste pit together with other materials. Based on their typology, fabric composition and rarity, it can be concluded that they are personal/private imports, acquired at the same time, brought to Potaissa by possibly one of *Legio V Macedonica*'s soldiers and utilized within the same barrack until they were discarded.

Keywords: Roman pottery; *oenochoe*; legionary wares; Potaissa; *Legio V Macedonica*.

Rezumat: Cercetările arheologice desfășurate în anul 2012 în *praetentura sinistra* (*centuriae cohortes quingenariae*) a castrului legionar de la Potaissa au condus la descoperirea unui tip ceramic special, care putea face parte din categoria vaselor militare (legionary wares). Cele două *oinochoai* nu aparțin însă repertoriului ceramic produs de atelierele locale, asociate acestui castru. Momentan, ele reprezintă un tip rar pentru Potaissa, luând în considerare faptul că analiza întregului lot ceramic descoperit în castrul potaissens (circa 10.000 vase individuale) a condus la identificarea a doar două astfel de vase. Acestea au fost descoperite în aceeași groapă cu deșeuri, alături de alte materiale arheologice. Pe baza tipologiei, a compoziției pastei, dar și a rarității acestui tip ceramic, putem concluda cu siguranță că ele reprezintă importuri private, obținute concomitent și aduse la Potaissa de către unul dintre soldații legiunii V Macedonica, unde au fost utilizate în aceeași baracă.

Cuvinte cheie: ceramică romană; *oenochoe*; vase militare; Potaissa; *Legio V Macedonica*.

Introduction¹

The archaeological material analyzed for this study was recovered during five systematic research campaigns which were carried out between the years 2012–2016 within the legionary fortress at Potaissa (nowadays Turda; Cluj County, Romania). The aim of these campaigns was that of partly uncovering the *centuriae cohortes quingenariae*

¹ I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to prof. dr. Sorin Nemeti (director of the excavations) for trusting me with the ceramic material discovered within the *praetentura sinistra* of the legionary fortress at Potaissa, as well as his kind help and professionalism throughout these years. I would also like to thank expert museographer Irina Nemeti (National Museum of Transylvanian History) for kindly organizing the photographic images for this study.

of the *praetentura sinistra*. A surface totaling 1,419.35 m² was unearthed, leading to the identification of substructions which belonged to six *centuriae* (Barracks I–VI). Barrack I was almost fully investigated, while the remaining ones were only partially intersected (Pl. III).² Large quantities of archaeological materials were recovered throughout this process as well, allowing some insight into the daily life of *Legio V Macedonica*'s soldiers at Potaissa in the first half of the 3rd century AD. The artefact categories discovered in these barracks are very diverse. They are comprised of architectural and sculptural elements, jewelry, clothing accessories, medical instruments, utilitarian objects, toiletries, weaponry items, military equipment, coins, glassware, terracotta lamps, *tegulae*, votive monuments, faunal remains etc.³ Roman pottery is the most numerous type of artefact recovered from this area, with an impressive total of 1621 individual wares, underlining once more the importance of terracotta vessels within military garrisons.⁴ Due to the advanced state of deterioration, it can be concluded that these vessels represented waste produced in the first half of the 3rd century AD (intact clay vessels are very rare for this fortress in general). The pair of *oinochoai* discussed in this study belonged to the ceramic lot recovered throughout these archaeological campaigns as well, and they stand out due to various characteristics which will be discussed below.

Archaeological context and discovery of the *oinochoai*

A surface of 405 m² was investigated in 2012 by the trench S01 (234 × 1.5 m), C01 (10 × 4 m) and C02 (7 × 2 m). The pair of *oinochoai* were recovered from a waste pit (G1) identified between meters 173–174 of S01/2012. The rectangle-shaped waste pit with rounded corners (G1) was outlined at a depth of 0.95 m.⁵ It had a maximum diameter of 1.60 m, reaching a maximum depth of 1.10 m (2.05 m depth from the contemporary walking level). Transposed to the plan of the *praetentura sinistra*, it was concluded that between meters 173–174, S01/2012 had intersected Room 7 of Barrack III (Pl. III). Besides the two *oinochoai* in question, the waste pit yielded considerable quantities of Roman pottery (including *terra sigillata*), faunal remains, slag, glassware, coins, *fibulae* etc.⁶ The two *oinochoai* discovered here stand out due to their typology, fabric and technological features. Out of the 1621 individual wares analysed for this study (*praetentura sinistra*), and the total of approximately 10.000 individual wares discovered and analysed for the legionary fortress, these two wares are so far the only ones of their kind, making them a very rare find at Potaissa (Pl. I–II).

Typological classification and technological features

The *oinochoai* discovered within waste pit G1 of Room 7/Barrack III pertain to the category of common wares. Out of the 1621 individual wares unearthed for the *praetentura sinistra*, the category of common wares occupies a total of 71%. Functionality-wise, the *oinochoai* belong to the group of wares utilized for pouring and transporting liquids

² Nemeti et alii 2017, 21–25.

³ For an extensive analysis of each artefact category see: Nemeti et alii 2017, Chapter: Archaeological Materials.

⁴ Nemeti et alii 2017, 88–130; Nedelea 2020, PhD Thesis.

⁵ Nemeti et alii 2017, Pl. XII/1–2.

⁶ Nemeti et alii 2017, 30.

(short distance).⁷ This group represents 34% (393 individual wares) of the common ware category recovered from the *praetentura sinistra*. Within this group, five main shapes can be differentiated: flagons, jugs, table *amphorae*, milk pots and *dolia*. The most numerous shape is the jug, with 194 individual wares, followed by flagons, with a total of 127 individual wares. The two *oinochoai* discussed in this study belong to the group of pinch-mouthed flagons (Pl. I-II), representing one of the 17 types of flagons discovered within the *centuriae* of the *praetentura sinistra*. At the same time, they represent one of the two *oinochoai* types identified here: 1) trefoil-mouthed flagons (locally produced); 2) pinch-mouthed flagons (imported).⁸ The pinch-mouthed flagons stand out due to their fabric, which falls in the group of coarse wares with oxidizing firing. At Potaissa, this type of fabric is so far known only for the following shapes: *turibula* (censors), *foculi* (clay braziers), *ollae* (cooking pots), and *opercula* (lids). An interesting observation would be the fact that at Potaissa the repertoire of vessels with this type of fabric are destined to come in contact with fire or hot coals. So far, the two pinch-mouthed flagons discovered within waste pit G1 represent an anomaly for this fortress, similarly to an additional ceramic type previously identified at Potaissa.⁹ The identification of this type of flagons/*oinochoai* is very difficult in the absence of the upper section of the vessels with their distinctive pinched spout.

I. Type: *Oenochoe*/Pinch-mouthed flagon (Pl. I/1a-f).¹⁰

Morphological features: two fragments were recovered, forming the upper part of the vessel with its mouth, neck and handle, all well preserved (35% of the flagons' initial shape); the tape-shaped and columnar handle was placed at the opposite side of the spout, broadly tapering towards the shoulder (missing); sharply-cut lip; the rim of the main opening is everted; the trefoil-lipped aspect typical for *oenochoe* is lost due to the round/oval aspect of the main opening; the secondary opening, the spout, was created by pinching shut a small portion of the rim with the fingers.

Firing: oxidizing, type "sandwich".

Fabric: Munsell 2.5YR 6/6 Light Red; hard-baked/coarse, compact fabric; 30% light-colored inclusions (temper), preponderantly quartz and calcite grains.

Finishing and surface treatment: plain; the preserved portion of the neck shows a series of horizontal, shallow grooves on the outer surface.

Measurements: maximum length – mouth and spout = 11.5 cm; maximum width = 9 cm; spout diameter = 36.00 mm; rim thickness = 10.91 mm; wall thickness (neck area) = 4.59 mm; handle thickness = 6.33 mm; handle width = 37.00 mm.

Chronology: end of the 2nd century AD – first half of the 3rd century AD.

Workshop: West-Pontic workshop (?).

Discovery: Turda (Cluj County; Romania); Potaissa legionary fortress; S01/2012 – C173–174; *praetentura sinistra*; Barrack III/Room 7; waste pit (G1); 1.00 m depth.

⁷ Rusu-Bolindeț 2007, 423.

⁸ Nedelea 2017, 246, Pl. LXVI/3.

⁹ Nedelea 2021, 145–159; a three-handled wine jug reminiscent of the Hellenistic volute kraters – so far only three such individual wares are known at Potaissa, and one is believed to have been discovered at Napoca.

¹⁰ Nedelea 2017, 246, Pl. LXVI/1.

Owner/Storage place: National Museum of Transylvanian History (MNIT)/ Cluj-Napoca; inv. no. v64836 (63).

Bibliography: Nemeti et alii 2017.

II. **Type:** *Oenochoe*/Pinch-mouthed flagon (Pl. II/1a-e).¹¹

Morphological features: one fragment was recovered, namely the upper part of the vessel with its mouth, neck and part of the singular handle (30% of the flagon's initial shape); the tape-shaped and columnar handle was placed at the opposite side of the spout, broadly tapering towards the shoulder (missing); sharply-cut lip; the rim of the main opening is everted; the trefoil-lipped aspect typical for *oenochoe* is lost due to the round/oval shape of the main opening; the spout was created by pinching shut a small portion of the rim with the fingers; the walls of the spout are overlapping.

Firing: oxidizing, type – “sandwich”, visible on the profile of the handle.

Fabric: Munsell 2.5YR 6/8 Light Red; hard-baked/coarse, compact fabric; 30% light-colored inclusions (temper), preponderantly quartz and calcite grains.

Finishing and surface treatment: plain; the preserved portion of the neck shows a series of horizontal, shallow grooves on the outer surface; excess clay can be seen on the rim, as well as the neck area.

Measurements: maximum length – mouth and spout = 12.2 cm; maximum width = 77.85 mm; spout diameter = 37.19 mm; rim thickness = 7.16 mm; wall thickness (neck area) = 3.98 mm; handle thickness = 9.61 mm; handle width = 38.50 mm.

Chronology: end of the 2nd century AD – first half of the 3rd century AD.

Workshop: West-Pontic workshop (?).

Discovery: Turda (Cluj County, Romania); Potaissa legionary fortress; S01/2012 – C173–174; *praetentura sinistra*; Barrack III/Room 7; waste pit (G1); 1.00 m depth.

Owner/Storage place: National Museum of Transylvanian History (MNIT)/ Cluj-Napoca; inv. no. v64837 (64).

Bibliography: Nemeti et alii 2017.

Chronological framework

Despite the generous quantities of artefacts recovered between meters 173–174 of S01/2012 (two coins, one fibula, one belt buckle, four glass vessels, three lamps, fifty three clay vessels), and despite the indicators for chronological attestation associated with the *oinochoi* within the same waste pit (*denarius* issued 119–122 AD; knee fibula/Cociş 19e2b; square fretwork belt buckle; Loeschcke VII, VIII and X lamps; Rheinzabern *terra sigillata*), pinpointing a very narrow timeframe for the use of these vessels turns out to be impossible. However, the analysis of the materials indicates a period situated in the first half of the 3rd century AD:¹²

¹¹ Nedelea 2017, 246, Pl. LXVI/2.

¹² Dannell et alii 1993. Fig. 14/1–2 – vessels with pinched necks and wide spouts normally date from the early to the mid-3rd century AD.

Type of material	Period	No.	Typological classification/ Shape	Technique	Dating/ Workshop	Discovery - Praet. Sin.	Owner/ Inventory number
Silver Coin ¹³	Roman	1	Denarius	Minting	Hadrian (Rome, 119–122 AD)	S01/2012, C173–174	MNIT N99866
Coin ¹⁴	Roman	1	Denarius (illegible)	Minting	-	S01/2012, C173–174	MNIT N99868
Bronze accessories ¹⁵	Roman	1	Knee Fibula	Cast and hammered	First half of the 3 rd century AD	S01/2012, C173–174	MNIT v64264
Bronze accessories ¹⁶	Roman	1	Belt Buckle	Fretwork	Second half of the 2 nd century AD	S01/2012, C173–174	MNIT v64296
Glassware ¹⁷	Roman	1	Isings 12 Type Cup	Slumping	First half of the 3 rd century AD	S01/2012, C173–174	MNIT v64258
Glassware ¹⁸	Roman	1	Isings 34 Type Beaker	Slumping	First half of the 3 rd century AD	S01/2012, C173–174	MNIT v64257
Glassware ¹⁹	Roman	2	Isings 96 Type Bowl	Slumping	First half of the 3 rd century AD	S01/2012, C173–174	MNIT v64255, v64256
Earthenware ²⁰	Roman	2	Firmalampen/ Loeschcke X	Mould-made/ Oxidation firing	First half of the 3 rd century AD	S01/2012, C173–174	MIT 24, 30/2012.
Earthenware ²¹	Roman	1	Loeschcke VII	Mould-made/ Oxidation firing	First half of the 3 rd century AD	S01/2012, C173–174	MNIT v64236
Earthenware ²²	Roman	1	Lu. Bb/ Drag. 46 Type Cup	Import/ plain terra sigillata/ Oxidation firing	Rheinzabern; Second half of the 2 nd century AD	S01/2012, C173–174	MNIT (145)

¹³ Nemeti et alii 2017, 49, Catalogue no. 7, Pl. XIX/5.

¹⁴ Nemeti et alii 2017, 52–53, Catalogue no. 46.

¹⁵ Nemeti et alii 2017, 58, Catalogue no. 4, Pl. III/4.

¹⁶ Nemeti et alii 2017, 68, 73, Catalogue no. 3, Pl. XXXVI/1; Petculescu 1995, 115, 125, Pl. 1, no. 1.

¹⁷ Nemeti et alii 2017, 140–142, Catalogue no. 1, Pl. LXXXVI/2.

¹⁸ Nemeti et alii 2017, 141–142, Catalogue no. 6, Pl. LXXXIV/5.

¹⁹ Nemeti et alii 2017, 144, Catalogue no. 25, Pl. LXXXIV/3; Catalogue no. 26, Pl. LXXXIV/4.

²⁰ Nemeti et alii 2017, 135, Catalogue no. 2, Pl. LXXVIII/3; Catalogue no. 4, Pl. LXXVIII/4.

²¹ Nemeti et alii 2017, 136, Catalogue no. 12, Pl. LXXX/3.

²² Nemeti et alii 2017, 83–106.

Type of material	Period	No.	Typological classification/ Shape	Technique	Dating/ Workshop	Discovery - <i>Praet. Sin.</i>	Owner/ Inventory number
Earthenware	Roman	1	Curle 11 Type <i>Mortarium</i>	Import/ plain <i>terra sigillata</i> / Oxidation firing	Rheinzabern; Second half of the 2 nd century AD	S01/2012, C173–174	MNIT (144)
Earthenware	Roman	1	Curle 23 Type Plate	Local/ plain <i>sigillata</i> / Oxidation firing	Potaissa; First half of the 3 rd century AD	S01/2012, C173–174	MNIT (65)
Earthenware	Roman	1	Lu. Ty Type Plate	Local/ plain <i>sigillata</i> / Oxidation firing	Potaissa; First half of the 3 rd century AD	S01/2012, C173–174	MNIT (113)
Earthenware	Roman	2	Drag. 44 Type Bowl	Local/ plain <i>sigillata</i> / Oxidation firing	Potaissa; First half of the 3 rd century AD	S01/2012, C173–174	MNIT (63, 150)
Earthenware	Roman	3	Plate	Local/ Oxidation firing	Potaissa; First half of the 3 rd century AD	S01/2012, C173–174	MNIT (61, 158, 159)
Earthenware	Roman	4	Mugs	Local/ Oxidation firing	Potaissa; First half of the 3 rd century AD	S01/2012, C173–174	MNIT (139, 140, 141, 142)
Earthenware	Roman	1	Beaker	Local/ Oxidation firing	Potaissa; First half of the 3 rd century AD	S01/2012, C173–174	MNIT (148)
Earthenware	Roman	24	Cooking pot	Local/ Oxidation firing	Potaissa; First half of the 3 rd century AD	S01/2012, C173–174	MNIT (60, 68, 69, 70, 73, 143, 152, 160, 162, 163, 164, 165, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180)
Earthenware	Roman	4	Pitcher	Local/ Oxidation firing	Potaissa; First half of the 3 rd century AD	S01/2012, C173–174	MNIT (66, 147, 154, 168)

Type of material	Period	No.	Typological classification/ Shape	Technique	Dating/ Workshop	Discovery - Praet. Sin.	Owner/ Inventory number
Earthenware	Roman	7	Jug	Local/ Oxidation firing	Potaissa; First half of the 3 rd century AD	S01/2012, C173–174	MNIT (71, 153, 155, 156, 157, 166, 167)
Earthenware	Roman	2	<i>Foculus</i>	Local/ Oxidation firing	Potaissa; First half of the 3 rd century AD	S01/2012, C173–174	MNIT (61, 151)
Earthenware	Roman	1	<i>Turibulum</i>	Local/ Oxidation firing	Potaissa; First half of the 3 rd century AD	S01/2012, C173–174	MNIT (67)

Functionality

The wares discovered at Potaissa identify with a range of pottery shapes that belong to the group of pouring vessels.²³ They are normally utilized to distribute liquid from larger mixing vessels into drinking cups, and fall under the term *oenochoe/oinochoe* (pl. *oinochoai*), meaning “wine-pourer” (gr. *oinos* = wine, *cheo* = I pour). The examples identified at Potaissa have a constricted neck, globular body, a singular tape handle and a flat base. However, the usual trefoil-shaped mouth of the *oinochoe* has been transformed into two separate openings: the mouth has a large and round/oval opening (utilized for pouring the liquid into the vessel itself), as well as a closed, narrow spout (utilized for pouring the liquid out of the vessel). One explanation for the change in shape of the mouth could derive from the type of fabric chosen in manufacturing these vessels. The hard-baked, rich-tempered fabric (similar to that of censers/*turibula*, terracotta braziers/*foculi*, cooking pots/*ollae* and lids/*opercula*)²⁴ conferred these flagons the ability to withstand high temperatures *i.e.*, thermal shock resistance and good heat conduction. This raises the question if the vessels were really utilized for pouring wine, or if their use was that of handling water only – or even for pouring boiling hot water²⁵ (perhaps utilized by the soldiers as a water pasteurization technique when out in the field). The closed and very narrow spout restricted the quantity of liquid that was being poured. These morphological traits offered more control in maintaining an accurate flow of water, especially when hot. One must also take into consideration the fact that porous clay vessels left without surface treatment do not hold liquids for long periods of time. Based on their shape we can estimate that their capacity was that of roughly 3 *sextarii* (1.6 liters).

Due to their characteristics, one should take into consideration and not exclude the possibility that these vessels could belong to the distinctive types of pottery known

²³ Chirilă et alii 1972, Pl. XXVII/2; Evans 1993, 96; Nuțu 2019, 158; Petruț 2018, 80; Rusu-Bolindeț 2007, 423, 429, Group C, Catalogue no. 13; Webster 1976, 18.

²⁴ Nedelea 2018, 117–139.

²⁵ Dyzceck 2016, 249; Stănescu et alii 2021, 139–190.

as legionary wares.²⁶ These vessels are peculiar to each legion when local products were found to be inadequate and did not suit the needs of the army on a larger scale.²⁷ However, if they do represent legionary wares, they were not produced at Potaissa (based on the information available at the moment). It is clear though that they were known and in use by at least one of *Legio V Macedonica*'s soldiers. If the same legion utilized this type of vessel in bigger quantities in previous garrisons, if they were acquired by chance from other Lower Moesian sites, or if these *oinochoai* are indicative of the soldier's origins, remains to be clarified by future research. One can also not overlook the similarity in shape and type between these vessels and the pinch-mouthed flagons pertaining to the Lower Danube Kaolin Ware (LDKW) category.²⁸

Analogies and possible workshops

The *oinochoai* identified at Potaissa fall under the coarse wares fabric group (*oenochoe*/I – Munsell 2.5YR 6/6 Light Red; *oenochoe*/II – Munsell 2.5YR 6/8 Light Red), which are very rich in temper (quartz and calcite grains). Due to their specific pinched-mouthed feature (round opening and spout), sharply cut lip, shallow grooves that cover the entire outer surface, single flat handle, fabric, and no color coating/surface treatment, finding analogies for this particular type proved to be quite the challenge. The lack of appropriate illustrations to accompany scientific publications (photos of the actual wares, preferably in color) and the misidentification of fabrics made this endeavor even more difficult. The pinch-mouthed flagon is common across the Roman Empire, notably in Gaul, the Rhineland and Britain.²⁹ It also seems to be common in the West-Pontic region, as well as military sites along the Danube River (both Moesian and Pannonian provinces).³⁰ Due to its widespread use, the shape, fabric, firing and surface treatment vary from site to site, and they should be treated as separate groups within the same type. Given *Legio V Macedonica*'s history in the second half of the 2nd century AD and the first half of the 3rd century AD,³¹ my attention was focused on finding analogies from sites pertaining mainly to Moesia Inferior and Dacia. After a careful analysis of all available pottery related publications from these two provinces, exact analogies for the *oinochoai* discovered at Potaissa are very few at the moment (most likely a result of the current state of research in this field). Many

²⁶ Swan 2004, 259–285; Dyczeck 2016, 250, regarding the legionary ware manufacture by *Legio V Macedonica*.

²⁷ Webster 1976, 14.

²⁸ Daszkiewicz et alii 2010, 37–49; Dyczeck 2016, 245, Fig. 4.

²⁹ Curle 1911, “Early Jugs”, Type 33, Fig. 33/9 – “No. 9 is of hard-baked light-brown ware. The surface is somewhat rough. The sides of the mouth are pinched together so as to form a spout. Jugs showing this arrangement appear at Wiesbaden, dating from the end of the first or the beginning of the second century; they are also among the early types at Nymwegen.”; Darling et alii 2014, Fig. 50/430 – Early Oxidised Sandy ware (OXSA); Monaghan 1997, type FT given a late 1st to 3rd century AD range; Hull 1963, 100, Fig. 56/17–18; 124, Fig. 70/2–3 – “The two necks are of a sandy, red-brown ware which suggests that they may be wasters from the mica-coated group. On the other hand, the outline in each case is different. Both are grooved on top, and the form of the neck varies. More important is the fact that the sides of the mouth are pinched together and lapped over—a clearcut distinction in form”; Perrin 1999, Fig. 62/ 192–194.

³⁰ Dyczeck 2016, 245, Fig. 3.

³¹ Bărbulescu 1987; Bărbulescu 1994; Bărbulescu 1997; Bărbulescu 2012; Bărbulescu 2015; Bărbulescu et alii 2019; Bărbulescu 2020, 421–439; Bărbulescu et alii 2020.

of the examples published for Dacia and Moesia Inferior fit the morphological features (shape and type) with those discovered at Potaissa, but they do not meet the technological requirements (fabric, firing and surface treatment) for a match. For example: a) analogies for similar shapes can be found at Buciumi, where they fall under the fabric groups OS 1 – “Oxidized Semifine Hard Fabric”³² and OS 3 – “Oxidized Semifine Slightly Porous Fabric”.³³ Despite their shape, these examples are not a match with the fabric samples of the Potaissa finds; b) analogies for the same shape can be found at Apulum within the legionary fortress, however, unlike the examples from Potaissa, they fall under the category of “Coarse Reduced Wares”,³⁴ as well as “Fine Oxidized Colour Coated Wares”.³⁵ These wares were produced within Workshop B at Apulum, whose activity is split in two main phases between the middle of the 2nd century AD and the middle of the 3rd century AD;³⁶ c) analogies for the same shape can be found at Alburnus Maior, the Roman cremation cemetery from Țarina, dated in the 2nd century AD. Despite their shape, they are not a match with the finds at Potaissa due to their semifine fabric;³⁷ d) analogies for the same shape can be found at Tibiscum.³⁸ The wares were discovered in the second level of habitation at “Iaz”-Traianu, and dated in the first half of the 2nd century AD.³⁹ They are not a match with the finds at Potaissa due to their “light-yellow fabric” (Munsell 7.5YR 7/6);⁴⁰ e) analogies for the same shape can be found within the auxiliary fort at Slăveni (well/cistern),⁴¹ where it was dated in the first half of the 3rd century AD; f) analogies for the same shape can be found at Tulcea – Poșta/Frecăței,⁴² dated generally in the 2nd-3rd century AD, and they are similar to the examples discovered at Tibiscum and Slăveni; g) analogies for the same shape can be found at Babadag-Topraichioi,⁴³ however they are similar in fabric to the previously mentioned flagons discovered at Tulcea – Poșta/Frecăței, Tibiscum, and Slăveni; h) analogies for the same shape can be found at Troesmis,⁴⁴ where they are dated in the first half of the 3rd century AD. In comparison to the *oinochoai* discovered at Potaissa, their fabric is light-beige, while the outer surface is covered in brown-greyish slip; i) analogies for the same shape can be found at Noviodunum,⁴⁵ where they take on the form of LDKW; j) analogies for the same shape can be found at Murighiol, the fortress from Independența (*oinochoai* Type II/1–2), pertaining to the late Roman level;⁴⁶

³² Petruț 2018, 54, Pl. 36.

³³ Petruț 2018, 54, Pl. 37.

³⁴ Ciaușescu 2005, 322, 324, Coarse Reduced Wares/no. 4.

³⁵ Ciaușescu 2005, 326, Fine Oxidized Colour Coated Wares/no. 62.

³⁶ Egri 2018, 123, Fig. 10/4, 62.

³⁷ Rusu-Bolindeț et alii 2018, Catalogue no. 162/*Oenochoe*; Bocan, Neagu 2018, 91–114, Fig. 4.

³⁸ Ardeț 2009, 110, Fig. 21; 112, Catalogue no. 321; Pl. LXVI/321.

³⁹ Ardeț 2009, 18.

⁴⁰ Ardeț 2009, 112. MJERGC, inventory no. 1168; Rusu-Bolindeț et alii 2018, 167, Catalogue no. 448/trefoiled jug.

⁴¹ Popilian 1976, 193, Pl. LXXXI/3b, Pl. XLIX/530 (Type 12/Variant “e”); Tudor et alii 2011, 175–176, Group “c”, Catalogue no. 104; 287, Pl. XXV/104.

⁴² Rusu-Bolindeț et alii 2018, 248, Catalogue no. 686.

⁴³ Opaț 1991a, 257, Catalogue no. 90, Pl. 37/1, 25695.

⁴⁴ Opaț 1980, 333, 338, Pl. VII/5; 354, Catalogue no. 35, inventory no. 4546.

⁴⁵ Simion 2007, 331, Fig. 10/6; 334, Fig. 13/6.

⁴⁶ Opaț 1991b, 201, Pl. 38, Catalogue no. 223, Type II/1, inv. no. 38393; Catalogue no. 224, Type II/2, inv. no. 38391.

k) analogies can be found at Novae, but they do not match the fabric for the vessels discovered at Potaissa.⁴⁷

Despite their low count, a series of wares are an exact match with those discovered at Potaissa, while others are very similar in technique and could belong to the same workshops/production centre. So far, they are all finds from sites belonging to Moesia Inferior or sites along the Danube River/Roman Dacia: a) analogies can be found at the *villa rustica* from Gârla Mare (Mehedinți County);⁴⁸ b) analogies were also found at Durostorum;⁴⁹ c) analogies for the same shape, fabric, firing and surface treatment come from Tulcea – Poșta/Frecăței.⁵⁰ They are attributed to Lower Moesian workshops, with a general chronology between the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD; d) analogies for the same shape can be found at the cemetery from Poiana (Constanța County), grave G93⁵¹ and grave G109.⁵² Despite the fact that they are not an exact match for the examples at Potaissa due to their fabrics and surface treatment, they share similar features, like the sharply-cut lip and pinch-mouthed spout. These examples are attributed to West-Pontic workshops, dating from the second half of the 2nd century – early 3rd century AD; e) analogies for the same type of pinch-mouthed flagon, similar fabric and surface treatment come from Tomis (Munsell 2.5YR 5/6 Red), dated in the 2nd century AD;⁵³ f) very good analogies were found at Noviodunum.⁵⁴

The current state of research indicates that the best analogies for the *oinochoai* discovered at Potaissa come from Tulcea – Poșta/Frecăței, and Noviodunum. The *oinochoe* identified at Tulcea – Poșta/Frecăței is an exact match with those from Potaissa. Due to their morphological and technological features,⁵⁵ the wares seem to have been produced by the same workshop, indicating most likely a West-Pontic provenance. Therefore, it is my opinion that the *oinochoai* discovered at Potaissa could have been manufactured by a Moesian workshop in the early 3rd century AD, and brought to Potaissa by one of *Legio V Macedonica*'s soldiers, as private imports. To this date, several production centers and workshops are known in the area of the West-Pontic shores, the Danubian Limes, and the inner territory of Lower Moesia: Bărboși, Galați (Galați County); Argamum/Jurilovca, Horia, Telița – “Amza” (Tulcea County), “Mamaia”, Histria, Tomis, Durostorum (Constanța County); Pet Mogili, Pliska (Šumen); Odessos, Marcianopolis/Devnija (Varna); Novae/Svištov, Nicopolis ad Istrum, Byala Čerkva, Butovo, Pavlikeni (Veliko Tărnovo); Sostra (Lomec); Montana (Regio Montanensium); Olbia (Parutyne).⁵⁶

⁴⁷ Tomas 2003, 7.1.7 Type VII, Variant B, Catalogue nos. 78–95 (jugs with trefoil rim and stuck spout); 181, Table VII/84.

⁴⁸ Hamat 2018, 182–183, Fig. 10/1–2; Stîngă 2005, Pl. XVIII/1, 3; Pl. XIX/1, 3–6.

⁴⁹ Mușețeanu 2003, Pl. 31/327; Pl. 39/72; Băltac 2018, 218, Fig. 7/8–9; Nuțu 2018, 158, 2/2.1.

⁵⁰ Rusu-Bolindeț et alii 2018, 247, Catalogue no. 685.

⁵¹ Rusu-Bolindeț et alii 2018, 220, Catalogue no. 604.

⁵² Rusu-Bolindeț et alii 2018, 221, Catalogue no. 606.

⁵³ Rusu-Bolindeț et alii 2018, 225, Catalogue no. 617.

⁵⁴ Simion 2007, 331. Fig. 10/4; 334, Fig. 13/4.

⁵⁵ Rusu-Bolindeț et alii 2018, 247, Catalogue no. 685.

⁵⁶ Nuțu 2018, 116–134; 380, Map 8. Kilns for pottery and construction materials in Moesia Inferior.

Final conclusions

Despite the fact that Roman *oinochoai* are widespread throughout the Empire as a general type, the vessels identified at Potaissa showcase morphological traits and technological features that include them into a smaller and particular group of wares manufactured in the same workshop/production centre, somewhere in the West-Pontic region. Given *Legio V Macedonica*'s activity in this area, it is not strange to find similar wares within their new camp at Potaissa. The artefacts used as indicators for chronological attestment indicate a time period situated in the first half of the 3rd century AD. Thus far, these two pinch-mouthed flagons are the only ones of their kind for Potaissa, representing 0.02% of the total of approximately 10.000 individual wares discovered and analyzed for this fortress. However, this could very well be the result of the current state of research, and future excavations might shed more light into this issue. It is very possible that these wares were utilized for handling hot water for short periods of time. A connection between the pinch-mouthed flagons of this type and the legionary ware manufacture cannot be excluded. The presence at Potaissa of *Legio V Macedonica* prompted the mass-manufacture of at least two other legionary ware types, intended to suit solely the needs of the soldiers, and one of them is specific so far only for Potaissa: a) locally mass-produced Drag. 44 bowls; b) a strange local phenomenon – the mass production of clay braziers/*foculi* to substitute the missing heating systems or hearths within the barracks.⁵⁷ The discovery of the two *oinochoai*/pinch-mouthed flagons within waste pit G1 indicates that the vessels were acquired at the same time, and brought to Potaissa as private imports by possibly one of *Legio V Macedonica*'s soldiers (*cohortes quingenaria* situated in the *praetentura sinistra* of the fortress). The *oinochoai* were used within the same *contubernium* of Barrack III (Pl. III), where they were also discarded, only to be rediscovered during the archaeological excavations carried out in 2012.

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⁵⁷ Nedelea 2018, 117–139.

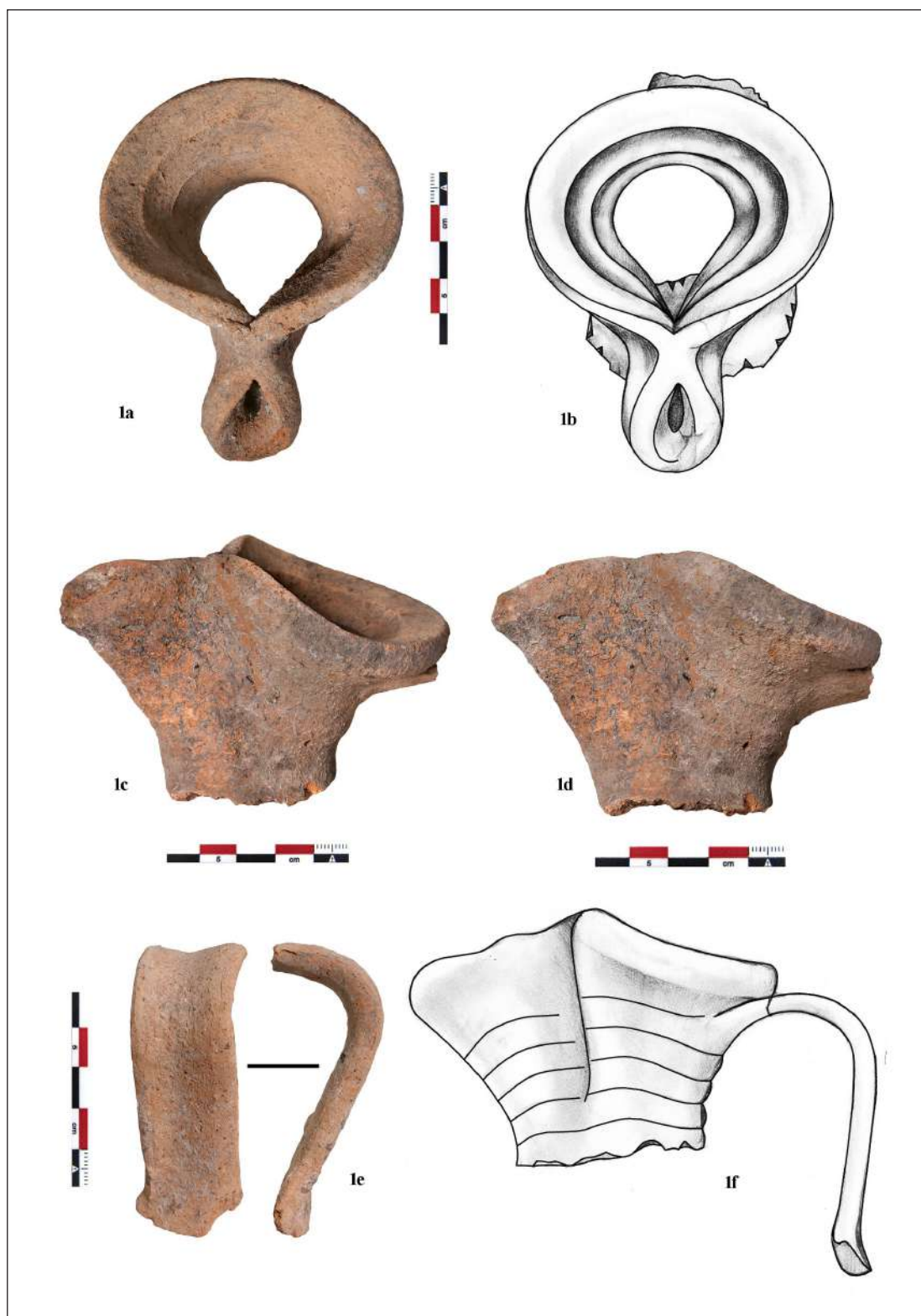
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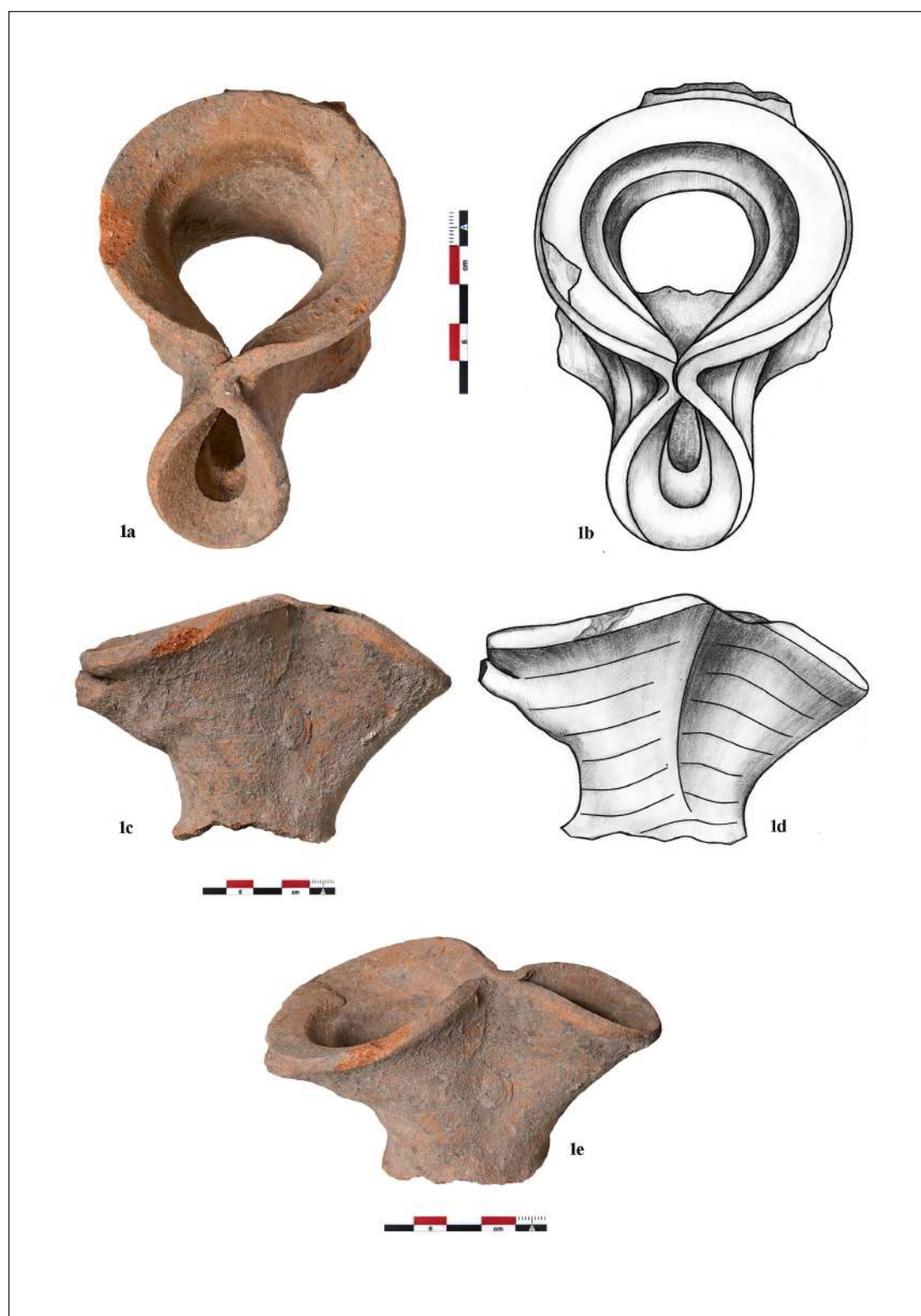
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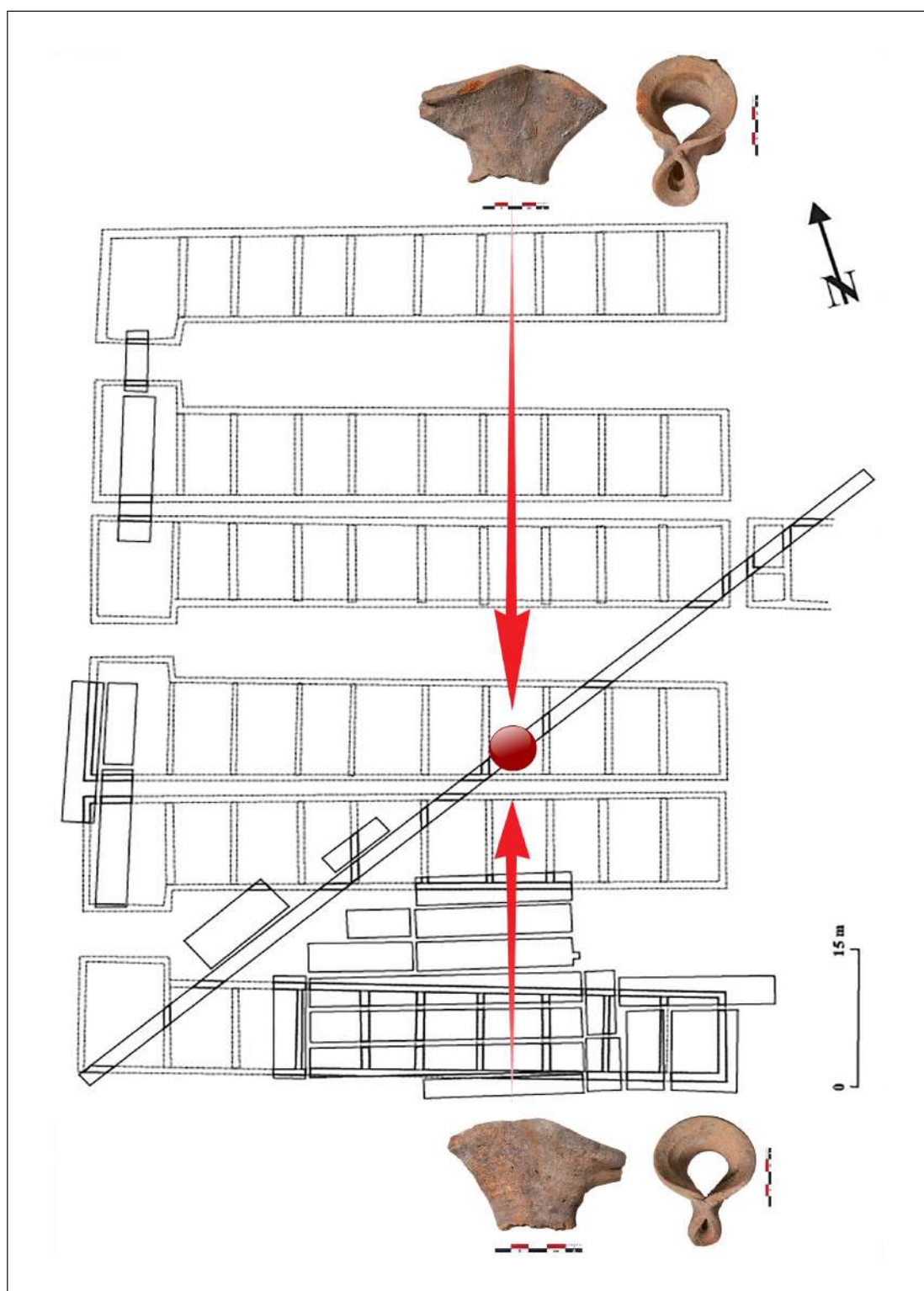
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Pl. I. *Oenochoe*/pinch-mouthed flagon – inv. no. v64836
(photos S. Odenie©MNIT; drawings by L. Nedelea).



Pl. II. *Oenochoe*/pinch-mouthed flagon – inv. no. v64837
(photos S. Odenie©MNIT; drawings by L. Nedelea).



Pl. III. Layout plan of the *centuriae cohortes quingenariae* and the discovery place of the *oinochoai*.
Indicated on the plan: waste pit G1/Room 7/Barrack III
(after Nemeti et alii 2017, with additional details edited by L. Nedelea).

ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS AND SCULPTURAL FRAGMENTS FROM MOLDOVENEȘTI AND BĂDENI

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Abstract: The paper publishes a series of fragmentary Roman monuments embedded into the walls of churches in Moldovenești and Bădeni (Cluj County). A part of them, epigraphic pieces belong to fragmentary funerary monuments and bring new information on onomastic and prosopography. Other fragments of funerary monuments only preserve the figurative and decorative sculptural decoration. Only two monuments are votive: a relief with the figure of Silvanus and an uninscribed altar. To have a complete picture of the recycling habit of the Roman monuments during the Middle Ages, some decorated architectural fragments are also presented. All these monuments come from the ancient city of Potaissa (currently Turda, Cluj County).

Keywords: monument; epigraphy; Dacia Porolissensis; Potaissa; reuse.

Rezumat: Studiul de față publică o serie de monumente romane fragmentare zidite în pereții bisericilor din Moldovenești și Bădeni (jud. Cluj). O parte dintre acestea, piesele epigrafice, aparțin unor monumente funerare fragmentare și aduc noi informații de ordin onomastic și prosopografic. Alte fragmente de monumente funerare păstrează doar părți din sculptura figurată sau decorativă. Doar două dintre monumente sunt votive: un relief cu figura lui Silvanus și un altar anepigraf. Pentru a completa tabloul reciclării monumentelor romane în Evul Mediu sunt prezentate și câteva fragmente arhitectonice decorate. Toate aceste monumente provin din orașul antic Potaissa (azi Turda, jud. Cluj).

Cuvinte cheie: monument; epigrafie; Dacia Porolissensis; Potaissa; re folosire.

A number of Roman stone monuments were rediscovered during conservation works at the churches of Moldovenești and Bădeni.¹ The Roman monuments were reused as building materials into the walls of the churches, being most probably brought from the ruins of the nearby Roman city of Potaissa.

Roman inscriptions and funerary monuments were often reused as a building material in the foundations and masonry of medieval-modern churches on the territory of the former province of Dacia. Such *spolia* were a readily available building material, obtained from the ruins of the former Roman towns and forts. Some are found in Romanesque and Gothic churches near former Roman centres, such as the churches of Densuș, Strei and Streisângeorgiu, Ostrov (Hunedoara County) or Vad and Luncani (Cluj County).² Roman epigraphic pieces and sculptural monuments are known from the walls of many

¹ Some of these pieces were photographed when the plaster was being removed by our colleague Kovács Zsolt, who made the photos available to us and to whom we would like to thank here. Many of the pieces were left embedded into the walls of the buildings and covered by the new plaster, while others are still visible today.

² Wollmann 1974–1975, 311; Russu 1975, 36; Sălășan 2005, 465–470; Piso 2013, 39–41.

churches in Transylvania, such as the Unitarian church of Mihăileni (Harghita County),³ the Unitarian church of Inlăceni (Harghita County),⁴ the Evangelical church of Berghin (Alba County),⁵ the Catholic church of Bărbănti (Alba County),⁶ the medieval church of Caransebeș (Caraș-Severin County),⁷ the Catholic church of Geoagiu (Hunedoara County),⁸ the Evangelical church of Ungra (Brașov County),⁹ the Catholic cathedral¹⁰ and the Báthory church of Alba Iulia (Alba County),¹¹ etc. Sometimes Roman *arae* are used as altar table legs in wooden churches.¹²

Inscriptions and monuments from Turda have been reused in various civil buildings and churches in the town and the surrounding area,¹³ such as the Reformed (Calvinist) church in Turda¹⁴ or the Reformed church in Lunca. The series of Roman monuments reused in churches will now be completed with those in the churches of Moldovenești and Bădeni.

The Unitarian church of Moldovenești is located in the centre of the village, near the early medieval fortress. It is a church with a large choir, buttresses and a southern tower with a flat ceiling. The preserved architectural elements are heterogeneous (Romanesque portal with semicircular archivolt, but with late Gothic profiles, a four-lobed circular window) leading to the conclusion that it is a Gothic monument with disaggregated shapes from the early 16th century (the monumental plaque on the south façade is dated 1613, and the entrance portal below the tower 1783).¹⁶

The Unitarian church of Bădeni in its present form is a construction from 1809; only the tower dates from 1672–1673. The church was built on the site of an earlier 14th century church dedicated to the Holy Trinity (renovated in 1595), whose building plaque with a Latin inscription from 1388 was transcribed when the church was demolished. The church is built in the Baroque style, with only the windows of the tower retaining Renaissance elements.¹⁷

The Roman monuments reused in the masonry of these churches are mostly fragments of inscriptions and funerary monuments. Only one monument may be a votive relief.

MOLDOVENEȘTI (Cluj County)

1. Upper part of a funerary altar. Dimensions: 0.78 × 0.37 m; ligature NT. Letters: 8 cm. Although the monument was hammered in order to be embedded, parts of the border

³ IDR III/4, 275, 278, 280–283.

⁴ IDR III/4, 277.

⁵ IDR III/4, 41.

⁶ ILD 455.

⁷ ILD 195.

⁸ IDR III/3, 237.

⁹ IDR III/4, 233.

¹⁰ IDR III/5, 116, 121, 252, 365.

¹¹ IDR III/5, 381, 395, 401, 404.

¹² Nemeti, Nemeti 2011, 435–444.

¹³ Bărbulescu 2015, 241–271.

¹⁴ Săsărman 2011, 361–364.

¹⁵ Sălășan 2005, 465–470; Piso 2013, 39–41.

¹⁶ Opriș, Bodea-Bonfert, Porumb 2001, 100–101.

¹⁷ Kovács 1999, 228–229.

framing the epigraphic field remain, with two mouldings. Two lines of the inscription and traces of a third one are preserved (Pl. I/1).

D · M
M · ANTONIO
++++[]++[

D(is) M(anibus)
M(arco) Antonio
++++[]++[---]
[---]

From the funerary inscription, only the beginning, with the invocation *Dis Manibus* and the *praenomen* and *nomen* of the deceased, a Marcus Antonius, is preserved. In Dacia there are a few individuals with the *nomen gentile* Antonius, especially at Apulum and Sarmizegetusa, but none with the first name Marcus.¹⁸

The border with the two mouldings suggests that the fragment was part of a funerary altar rather than a stele. Funerary altars, part of composite pilaster-type monuments,¹⁹ are quite rare at Potaissa. The four altars known so far belong to individuals from within the legion.²⁰

2. Fragment of a funerary stele with inscription. Dimensions: 0.31 × 0.29 m. Letters: 6.5 cm. A fragment of the central part of the inscription with letters from four lines of text is preserved (Pl. I/2).

NIO
ATVLO · S ·
OCRO ET
++O (hedera) CRI

In the first preserved line, the letters NIO come from a *nomen* in Dative, such as Antonius, Calpurnius, Caessenius or similar. The first hasta in l. 2 can only be from a letter A, and then we would have the sequence A, from a *cognomen* like Catulus.²¹ The letters in l. 3 and 4 are poorly preserved and it is difficult to reconstruct a plausible sequence. In

¹⁸ IDR III/5, 495, C. Antonius Valentinus (Apulum); CIL III 7638, L. Antonius Marinianus (Porolissum), AE 1997, 1294, C. Antonius Capito (Apulum); IDR III/2, 379, P. Antonius Viator (Sarmizegetusa); IDR III/2, 375, L. Antonius Priscus (Sarmizegetusa); IDR III/22, 104, L. Antonius Rufus (Sarmizegetusa); IDR III/1, 169 Antonius Marcus (Tibiscum); for the spread of the *nomen* Antonius in the Roman Empire – OPEL I, 131–135.

¹⁹ Gramatopol 2000, 217–219.

²⁰ CIL III 908; ILD 511; CIL III 13760; CIL III 13764.

²¹ There may be other rare *cognomina* such as Tatulo, OPEL IV, 109; Bastulus – Kajanto 1982, 198; The *cognomen* Catulus is known in Dacia only from one example (IDR III/3, 123, Micia), but is well illustrated in the epigraphy of other provinces – OPEL, II, 45. The derived form, Catullinus, is more often present on inscriptions from Dacia (IDR III/5, 59; CIL III 857; IDR III/2, 567), but for high society characters.

l. 4, between the letters O and C, a *hedera distinguens* can be noted. The letter A without horizontal hasta and the smaller letters O in l. 2 and 3 stand out.

[D(is) M(anibus)]
 [--- Anto?]nio [---]
 [--- C?]atulo s[?---]
 [--- s?]ocro et [---]
 [--- fili]/marit?]o Cri[spina? ---]
 [---]

The letters in l. 3 are somewhat problematic: an O, a C, a smaller O as in line 2, and an E and a fragmentary T are well-preserved. The third letter is definitely an R with a lateral hasta that is faded probably due to battering with a hammer, thus producing the intelligible sequence OCRO, which may refer to one of the two male characters mentioned in the inscription: [s]ocro for [s]oc(e)ro. Socero also appears in inscriptions from Dacia, at Apulum²² and Germisara,²³ and in an inscription from Căței/Samum we even have the contracted form socro.²⁴

Thus, the first three lines of the inscription mention the deceased, *i.e.* two male figures, one with a *nomen* ending in -NIVS (Antonius?), and a second one with the *cognomen* Catulus. The dedicant is probably a female, perhaps a Crispina²⁵ (?), daughter-in-law of one of the deceased (?). It is possible that the letter O at the beginning of line 5 belongs to the word [marit]o or [fili]o, rendering therefore impossible the establishment of any definitive connection between the dedicator and the second deceased.

3. Inscription fragments, belonging probably to a funerary stele. Dimensions: 0.22 × 0.14 m. Letters: 4.8 cm. A fragment of the left of the inscription field is still preserved, on which the edge of the epigraphic field and three lines are still visible (Pl. II/1).

BV
 PO
 DO

[--- mensi-, die-]
 bu[s---]
 po[suit/suerunt ---]
 DO[---].

Abbreviations for months and days (*mensibus* and *diebus*) are found in several funerary inscriptions in Dacia, usually rendered by the initial letter M or D,²⁶ but sometimes appear in full, as *diebus*.²⁷

²² CIL III 1207 = IDR III/5, 483.

²³ CIL III 1399 = IDR III/3, 248.

²⁴ AE 1957, 331 = ILD 783; Beu-Dachin 2014, 257–258.

²⁵ IDR III/3, 16, Aquae (Călan) and CIL III 1608, Gherla, only in Dacia.

²⁶ Piso et alii 2016, 175–176, 381–382.

²⁷ AE 1996, 1278 = IDR III/5, 534.

4. Inscription fragment. Limestone. Dimensions: 0.22×0.21 m. Letters: 5 cm. Probably a fragment of a funerary monument. A fragment from the centre of the epigraphic field is still preserved, where a few letters from two lines can still be distinguished, very neatly carved (Pl. II/2).

IENTI
NAP ·

The text of the fragment could be probably restored as such:

[---]
[--- coniugi p]ienti[ssimi/ae ---]
[--- col(oniae)] Nap(oae) [---]
[---]

Of course, the NAP group of letters may also come from a name (Menapius,-a),²⁸ or from a rare expression like *inaptabili feminae et incomparabili coniugi*,²⁹ but since the inscription comes from Potaissa, near the city of Napoca, it is likely to see in the NAP sequence a reference to the important city of Dacia Porolissensis.

5. Fragmentary relief. Limestone. Dimensions: 0.28×0.21 m (Pl. II/3). The fragment probably belongs to a two-register funerary stele. The preserved part belongs to the upper register, and on the border separating the registers the feet of a female wearing a long tunic can be seen. It is most probably a secondary figure from the funerary banquet scene. A possible model could be the stele of Aelia Thiadmes, where the female seats on the *kathedra* is on the right edge of the scene and a smaller female (*camilla*) dressed in a long tunic, on the left edge.³⁰

D(is) [M(anibus)]
[---]

6. Fragmentary relief. Dimensions: 0.45×0.26 m (Pl. III/1). The left side of the relief is still preserved, where the sculptural field seems to be divided into two registers. The upper register is completely damaged and nothing more can be deciphered, but in the lower register (0.26×0.11 m), a standing male can be seen in a moulded border. The sculpture is sketchy so the face is schematically rendered, but from the clothing it can be established that a man is represented. He is wearing a tunic, cinched at the waist, which falls to above the knees, a *sagum* and probably *braccae*. In his left hand, arm bent at the elbow and brought in front of his body, he is holding a roughly rendered object that can be identified as a billhook, *falx vineatica*. To the right of the figure is a stylised tree with three branches, curved like vines. The tree, the billhook, the costume and the position of the left

²⁸ CIL XIII 624.

²⁹ CIL X 8209.

³⁰ Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 130, no. 115, pl. X; Bianchi 1985, 274, no. 151.

arm allow the identification of the figure with the god Silvanus. He may possibly be holding a *pedum* in his right hand, especially visible in the lower part of the relief (if it is not the trunk of the tree). The god does not appear to be wearing a Phrygian cap³¹ and his animal companion, the dog, is missing.

The relief is small and has a border with *denticuli* at the top. What is preserved above these *denticuli* could be the remains of the capital of an altar with a relief on the upper part, such as the altars at Apulum and Măciș.³²

There are also common themes in the funerary iconography of the Potaissa artistic centre, such as an *aedicula* wall built into the church of Sâncrai (Alba County), near Aiud (Pl. III/2). Here in the upper register a rider is depicted galloping towards the left, and in the lower register a bare-headed figure with a short *tunic* and *sagum* is seated between two vines holding a vineyard billhook (*falx vineatica*) in the right hand, in the same position that the god Silvanus would hold it in. The figure has been identified with the deceased in two guises, rider and farmer (vintner),³³ but it is a lateral wall usually reserved for symbolic-allegorical scenes. The two registers contain, in fact, allegories relating to post-existence, the Thracian Horseman (*heros equitans*), and the mortal as Silvanus. The representation of the vines on the fragmentary relief at Moldovenesti is similar to that on monument no. 9, where such vines are associated with a bunch of grapes.

The fragmentary state of the relief does not allow a precise identification of the scene and of the type of monument: the small size and the existence of this type of monument in the repertory of those dedicated to Silvanus argue for its votive character (altar with a relief). The funerary character (lateral wall of a small *aedicula*) is supported by the incomplete divine iconography (the missing dog) and the migration of this iconographic motif into funerary art, as indicated by the *aedicula* from Sâncrai.

7. Fragment of a funerary stele. Limestone. Dimensions: 0.47 × 0.28 m (Pl. IV/1). The outline of the torso and head of a hammered figure can still be seen. It was probably part of the upper register of a stele with the bust of the deceased in a rectangular niche, as we know of several other such stelae from the workshops at Potaissa.³⁴

8. Fragments from a central wall of a funerary *aedicula*. Limestone. Dimensions: 0.61 × 0.37 × 0.30 m (Pl. IV/2). The wall was cut for masonry purposes, thus the heads and lower parts of the figures have disappeared. In the centre there is a male wearing toga, holding an unidentified object (fruit?, *poculum*?) in his right hand, which he holds towards his chest. A fold of the toga is draped over the right hand, held with outstretched fingers pointing downwards. On the left is a female figure, wearing the usual provincial costume, *tunica*, *stola* and *pallium*, beautifully draped. The right hand, brought towards the chest, is holding a fold of the *pallium*, in the gesture characteristic of matron funerary statues. On the right there is another female figure of identical size, probably their daughter. Her costume is similar to that of her mother, except that the *stola* is fastened under her breasts

³¹ Rusu 1973, 397, 401, no. 3, 8, fig. 3, 8 (reliefs from Apulum and Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa).

³² Rusu 1973, 401–402, no. 8, 10, fig. 8, 10.

³³ Wollmann, Grecu 1976, 114–116, no. 12, fig. 14a-b.

³⁴ Bianchi 1985, 48–50; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 20–21.

with a *taenia*. A fold of the *pallium* is draped over the left hand, with the fingers shown pointing downwards, in a gesture similar to that of the central male figure. In her right hand, which is brought towards the abdomen, she is holding a bird, probably a peacock.

Four other such central *aedicula* walls are known at Potaissa, with several draped figures depicted frontally. The representations consist of either two adults and two children, two adults and one child (two cases), or only two adults.³⁵ Such central *aedicula* walls, formerly considered *family stelae*,³⁶ are known from several sculptural centres in Dacia Superior and Porolissensis,³⁷ being a type of monument cherished by the urban middle class in the Danubian provinces. The central wall imitates, in high relief, the *togatus* and *matrona* type funerary statues, typically for the funerary art of the provincial elite.³⁸

9. Fragment of a funerary monument. Dimensions: 0.56 × 0.28 m (Pl. IV/3). The monument is probably a fragment of a lateral wall of a funerary *aedicula* with the margin decorated with vegetal motifs. A moulded border and a decoration with vines and a bunch of grapes can be seen. At the edge of the monument's break there is also a fragment of what must be a vine leaf. The full vegetal decoration combining vines, grape bunches and vine leaves is also found on other monuments from Potaissa.³⁹

10. Fragment of a funerary monument. Limestone. The monument is probably a fragment of a lateral wall of a funerary *aedicula* with the edge decorated with vegetal motifs⁴⁰ (Pl. V/1).

11. Fragment of a funerary stele showing the funerary banquet in the upper register (Pl. V/2). Limestone. Only the right edge of the monument has been preserved, where a profile is still visible, and, from the sculptural field, only the left side of the curved backrest of a *kline* and the left arm of the seated deceased. In the lower part of the relief, below the *kline*, a vessel (*olla*, *urceus*?) belonging to the set of banquet vessels is also visible.

At Potaissa, several stelae and *aedicula* walls depicting this symbolic scene are known, most of which are part of the banquet scene with multiple figures seated on a *kline*.⁴¹ The fragmentary state of this monument does not allow for further details.

12. Fragment of a funerary monument (*stela*, *aedicula*?). Limestone. Dimensions: 0.34 × 0.23 m (Pl. V/3). A fragment of the sculptural field containing a scene depicting the

³⁵ Jude, Pop 1972, 9, no. I.5, pl. IV; 8–9, no. I.4, pl. III/2; Floca, Wolski 1973, 16, no. 36, fig. 48; 17–18, no. 43, fig. 57; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 221, no. 105, pl. XLI; 222, no. 109, 111; Bărbulescu 2015, 77–79, no. 37, fig. 77–78; Wollmann 1978, 43–44, no. 10, fig. 5a–b; Bărbulescu 2015, 79–80, no. 38, fig. 79; Bajusz et alii 2005, 534–535, fig. 21/62e.

³⁶ David, Pintea 1966, 459–463.

³⁷ Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 219–222, no. 97–111.

³⁸ Gramatopol 1982, 147.

³⁹ Jude, Pop 1973, 16, no. IV.23, pl. XIII/2–3; 21, no. C.1, pl. XXI/1; 28, no. D.1, pl. XXIX/1–2.

⁴⁰ Bajusz et alii 2005, II/2, 720, no. 32/43.

⁴¹ Marinescu 1982, 130, no. 116; Jude, Pop 1973, 8–9, no. I.4, pl. III/2; Cătinaș, Hopârtean 1978, 210–211, no. 2, fig. 2; Cătinaș 2011, 92–95, pl. II; Sălășan 2005, 465, no. 1, fig. 3, 466–467, no. 5, fig. 7, 466, no. 6, fig. 8; Bujor 1967, 193–195, fig. 4; Jude, Pop 1973, 7, no. I.1, pl. I; Țeposu Marinescu 1982, 221, no. 105, pl. XLI, 218–219, no. 92, 48–49, AE 62; Bărbulescu 2015, 69–73, 74–77, no. 30–32, 34–36.

Thracian Horseman (*heros equitans*) is still preserved. Only the front part of the galloping horse is still visible, with the horse's chest and the front leg raised and bent at the knee. A trace of the rider's foot is still visible on the right edge of the fragment. At Potaissa, funerary monuments decorated with the image of the Thracian Horseman are rare, only one *aedicula* wall being known.⁴² The way of representing the horse galloping with the left leg raised has good analogies with model 1 from Dacia Porolissensis, especially with funerary monuments from Sutoru and Gherla, which illustrates the regional circulation of themes and sculptural motifs in funerary art.⁴³

13. Fragment of a funerary monument. Limestone (Pl. VI/1). The fragmentary monument probably belonged to a central *aedicula* wall, as traces of draping can still be seen. It probably belonged to a central wall with the deceased standing, draped, as *togatus* and *matrona*, like monument no. 8.

14. Votive altar. Limestone. Dimensions: 0.60 × 0.25 m (Pl. VI/2). There is a parallelepiped altar with two profiles representing a base and a capital, simple, undecorated. The field is uniscribed because it is a lateral side of the altar.

15. Fragment of a moulded monument. Limestone. Dimensions: 0.50 × 0.43 m (Pl. VI/3). It is the corner of a moulded monument, most likely a fragment of the epigraphic field of a funerary stele. No traces of lettering can be seen.

16. Architectural fragment. Limestone. Dimensions: 0.70 × 0.35 m (Pl. VII/1). Embedded into the church fence. It is a fragment of an architrave from a monumental construction with a row of *denticuli* and alternating toruses and scotias.

17. Architectural fragment. Limestone. Dimensions: 0.50 × 0.25 m. It is a fragment of an architrave with a scotia between two toruses (Pl. VII/2).

18. Architectural fragment. Limestone. Dimensions: 0.42 × 0.55 m. It is a fragment of an architrave with alternating scotias and toruses (Pl. VII/3).

The three fragments of beautifully profiled architraves indicate the existence of monumental buildings at Potaissa, probably in the civil area, which became sources for quarrying stone in the Middle Ages.

BĂDENI (Cluj County)

19. Fragment of a funerary stele. Dimensions: 0.31 × 0.41 m. Letters: 6 cm. Part of the inscription field is preserved, with four lines of text. The fragment probably originated in the central area of the inscription (Pl. VIII/1).

⁴² Jude, Pop 1973, 14, no. II.19, pl. XI/2.

⁴³ Nemeti 2019, 293–295, pl. V/2–6.

AVR VICT
 AVRELIANO
 R DOMNV
 MARITO P

[D(is) M(anibus)]
 [---] Aur(elio) Vic[torino---? et]
 [Aur(elio)?---]Aureliano [---]
 [--- Au]r(elia) Domnu[la? --- filio?]
 [--- et]marito p[osuit?].

This is most probably a part of a collective funerary monument, mentioning at least two deceased persons: Aurelius Vic(torinus?) in l. 1 and a Aurelius (?) Aurelianus in l. 2, both of the names being in Dative. The dedicator seems to be a female, Aurelia (?) Domnula, mentioned in l. 3, married to one of the deceased, probably to Aurelianus (*marito posuit*) and possibly mother of the other one.

The funerary stele is attesting a family of Aurelii, a very common imperial *nomen* at Potaissa. The name of the wife, Domnula, is known from inscriptions in Rome and the western provinces,⁴⁴ some of which of the Late Imperial Period (4th-5th century AD).

20. Fragment of a funerary stele. Dimensions: 0.35 × 0.31 m. Letters: 6.5 cm. A lower right part of the inscription field with four lines of text is preserved (Pl. VIII/2).

XX
 COIV
 FILIVS
 RVT

[--- vix(it) an(nis)?] XX
 [---] co(n)iu[x/gi?---]
 [---] filius
 [--- posue]ru(n)t

Another possible familial funerary monument, in which an unknown deceased, at the age of 20, is commemorated by a spouse and a child.

The peculiar form *coiux* is a vulgar variant due to the phonetic phenomenon of nasalization of a vowel before *n*, and to the fall of the nasal.⁴⁵ The other, more peculiar omission of the N in *posuerunt*, is much more rarely encountered, and seemingly in later inscriptions (3rd-4th century AD).⁴⁶

⁴⁴ OPEL II, 106; CIL VIII 8890; CIL V 8662; CIL XIII 8391; AE 2009, 917; AE 2005, 1257.

⁴⁵ Beu-Dachin 2014, 243. Other examples from Dacia: IDR III/5, 34; CIL III 804, 936; ILD 798; IDR III/4, 190, 198.

⁴⁶ AE 2007, 997, Aug. Treverorum; CIL III 9260, 14269, Saloniae.

21. Fragment of a funerary inscription. Limestone. Dimensions: 0.28 × 0.28 m. Letters: 6.5 cm. Remains of two lines of the inscription are preserved. The upper part of the preserved fragment may be the upper limit of the epigraphic field (Pl. IX/1).

RELIA · +
VIXIT

[D(is) M(anibus)]
[Au]relia +[---]
[---] vixit [---]
[---]

A fragment of the *nomen gentile* of a woman, Aurelia, is still preserved from the funerary inscription. Only one woman with this *nomen* is known in the funerary epigraphy of Potaissa,⁴⁷ Aurelia Felicissima. In the case of a certain Aelia Aurelia, the *nomen* is used as a *cognomen*.⁴⁸

22. Fragment of a funerary inscription. Limestone. Dimensions: 0.54 × 0.15 m. Letters: 6 cm. Remains of two lines of the inscription are preserved. The letters at the left edge of the fragment appear to be at the beginning of the lines (Pl. IX/2).

OC+++
VIX

[D(is) M(anibus)]
[---]
OC+++[---]
vix(it) [an(nis) ---]

23. Fragment of a moulded monument. Dimensions: 0.23 × 0.20 m (Pl. X/1). Only a fragment of the corner of the monument with a double moulded border and a vegetal decoration in the decorated field are preserved.

24. Fragment of a funerary monument. Dimensions: 0.77 × 0.22 m (Pl. X/2). The monument is probably a fragment from a lateral wall of a funerary *aedicula* with the edge decorated with vegetal motifs. There is a profiled border and a decoration with four acanthus leaf stems.

25. Fragment of a funerary monument. Dimensions: 0.43 × 0.18 m (Pl. X/3). The fragment also belongs to an *aedicula* lateral wall with a decorated edge. Three acanthus leaves are preserved from the series of vegetal motifs,⁴⁹ but they are rendered much more schematically than on the previous monument.

⁴⁷ CIL III 912.

⁴⁸ CIL III 7698.

⁴⁹ Bajusz et alii 2005, II/2, 596, fig. 29/105/2.

*

Roman stones with inscriptions, relief sculptures or architectural fragments were used as building material during the Middle Ages. Funerary monuments have been reused since antiquity and are sometime found in the final phases of the reconstruction of Roman buildings. During the Middle Ages, stone is a precious material and transport over long distances is difficult, so the spoliation of Roman ruins becomes a practice.⁵⁰ The church at Moldovenești was built at the beginning of the 16th century and the one at Bădeni was rebuilt at the beginning of the 19th century (only the tower is from the second half of the 17th century). Both buildings, however, reuse material from earlier medieval churches (from the 13th-14th centuries), built with a lot of recycled Roman material. Some pieces are missing, such as those noted in the letter of the parish priest of Bădeni Kozma Mihály on the occasion of the demolition of the old church in 1809. He had also seen a Roman funerary monument of Murelius Palatus (name misread), a relief of Diana and a relief of Flora, *i.e.*, a female figure holding three roses (probably a funerary relief).⁵¹ It means that in the medieval phases of the churches, Roman epigraphic, sculptural and architectural fragments were more numerous and not all of them have reached us.

The publication of these pieces, even fragmentary, completes the prosopography of the Roman town of Potaissa with seven individuals whose names are partially preserved (Marcus Antonius...,? Catulus,? Crispina, Aurelius Victorinus, Aurelius Aurelianus, Aurelia Domnula,? Aurelia). The appearance of two new *cognomina* in the onomastic repertoire of Potaissa, Catulus and Domnula, is noteworthy, as well as the frequency of imperial *gentilicia* such as Antonius and Aurelius and of some military *cognomina* (Victorinus, Aurelianus) typical of the onomastics of a city strongly influenced by the presence of the legion V *Macedonica*. The fragments of funerary stelae (with the banquet scene – nos. 5, 11, with the rider scene – no. 12) and *aediculae* (nos. 8, 10, 13, 24, 25) are in keeping with the style of funerary monuments in the city and in Dacia Porolissensis. Unfortunately, several *aedicula* walls have the sculptural field in the wall and on the outside only the decorated edge can be seen. The vegetal decoration of the funerary monuments, with grapevines and grapes, acanthus and laurel leaves, is found in the decorative repertoire of the stonemasons' workshops of Potaissa.

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⁵⁰ Matei 2021, 70–71.

⁵¹ Kovács 1999, 23, 234, no. 1–3.

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Sorin Nemeti

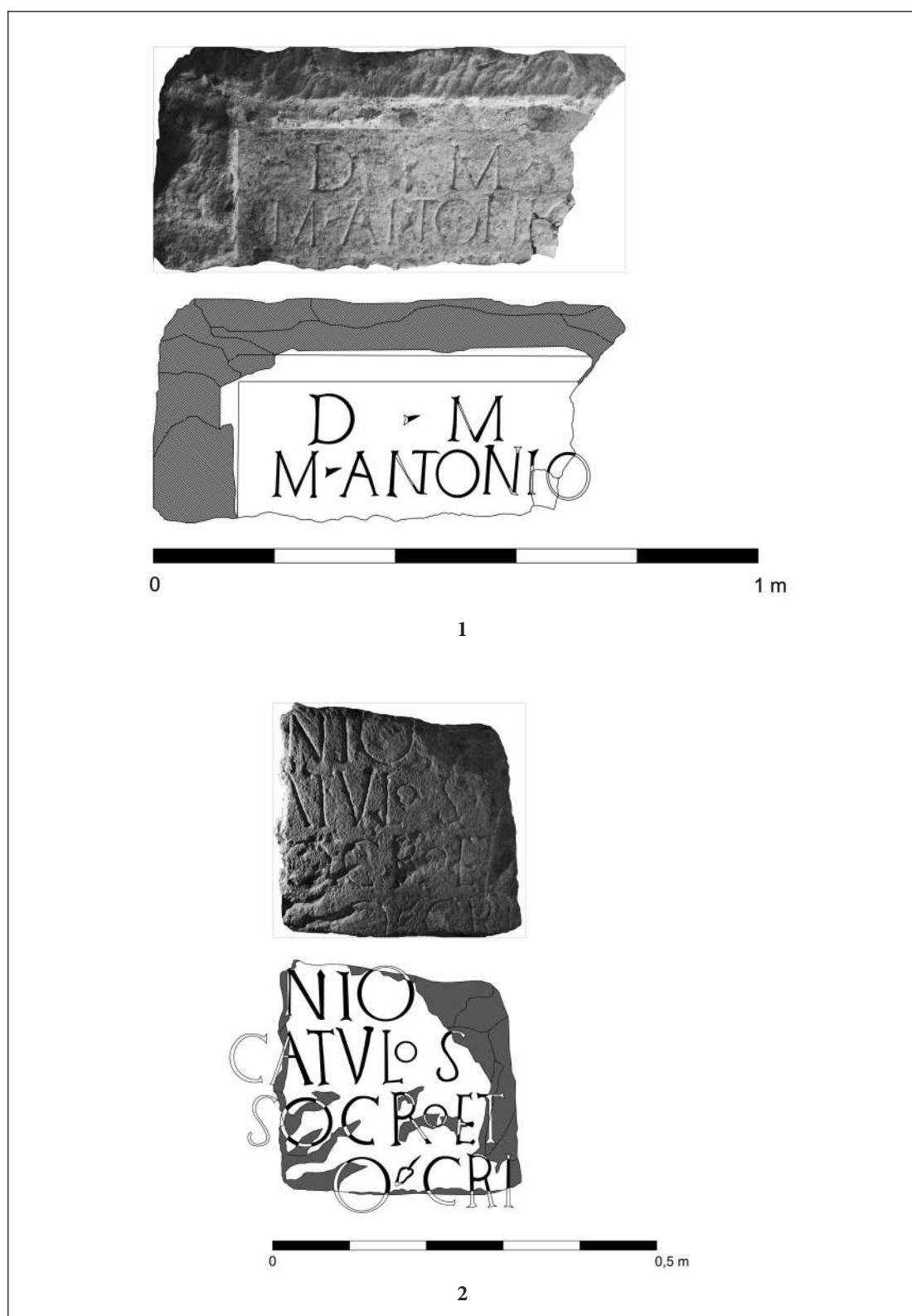
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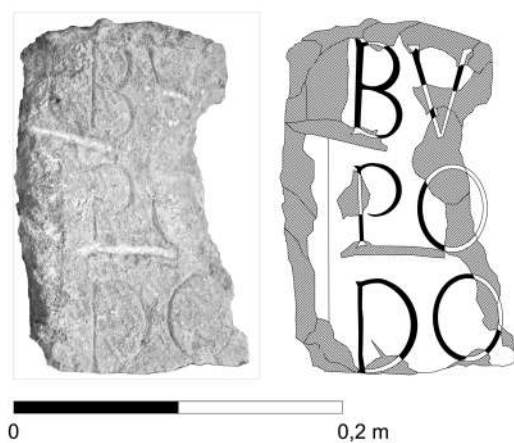
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Pl. I. 1-2. Fragmentary funerary monuments.



1



2



3

Pl. II. 1–2. Inscription fragments; 3. Fragmentary relief.



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2

Pl. III. 1. Fragmentary relief; 2. *Aedicula* wall.



1

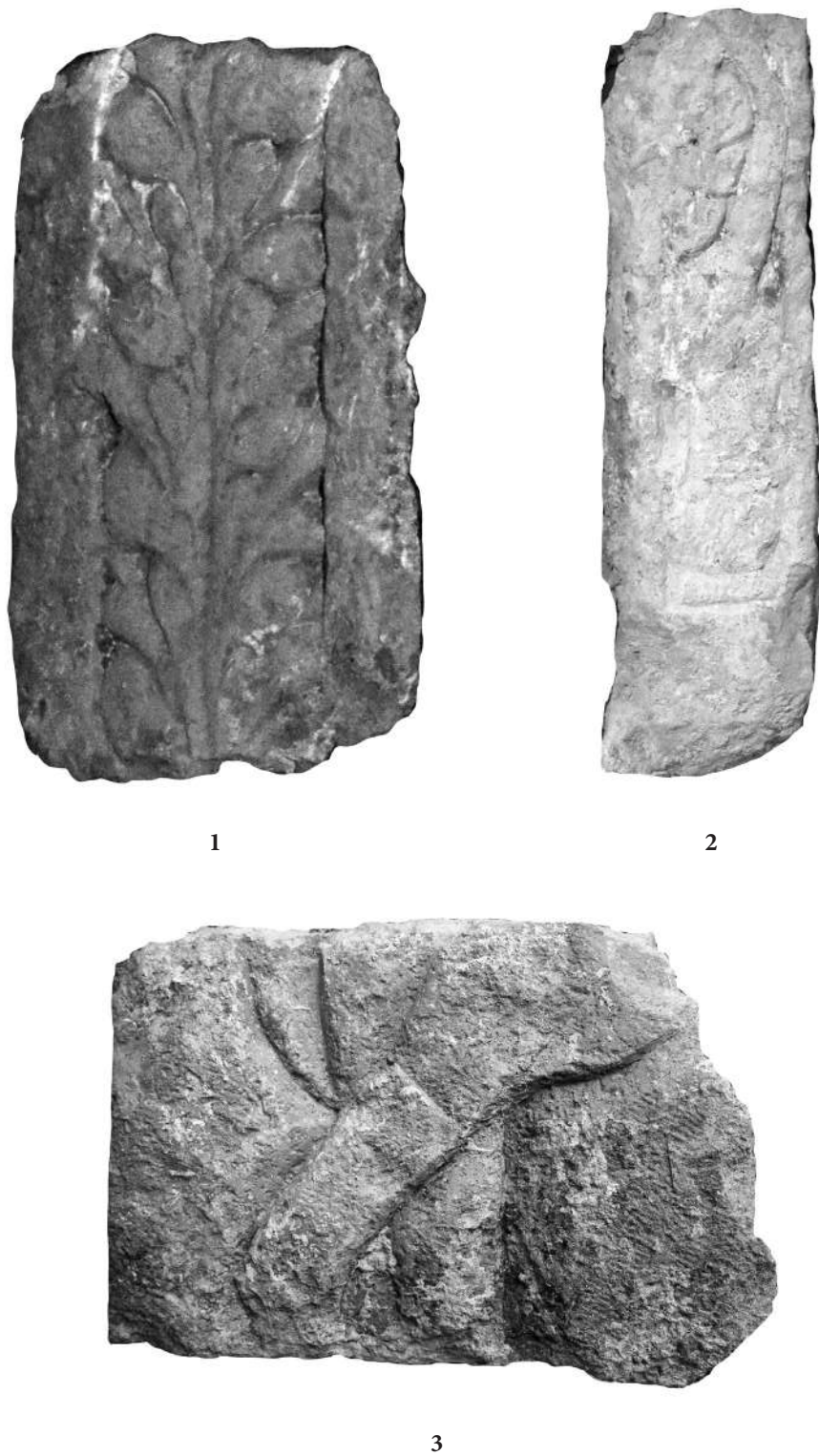


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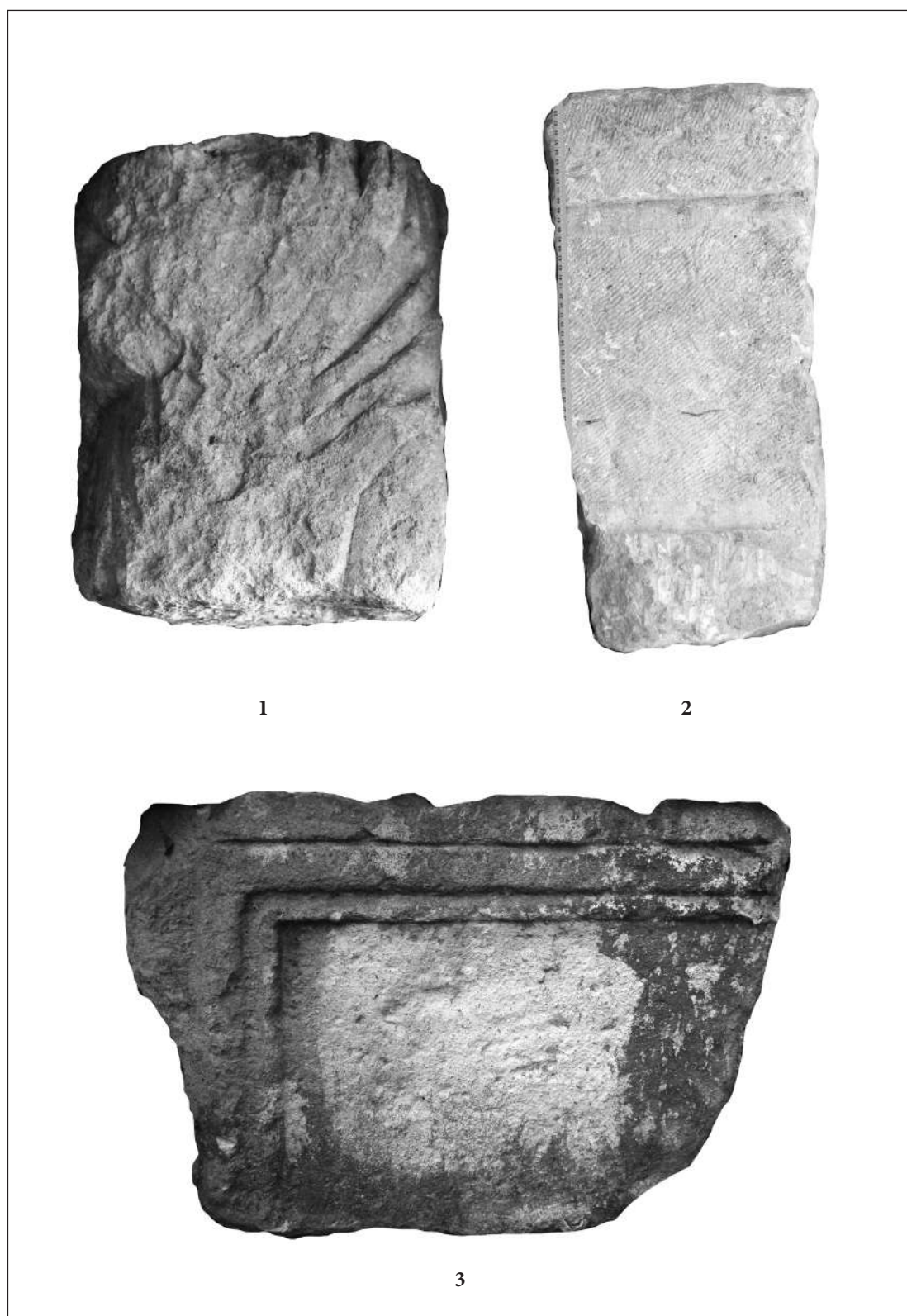


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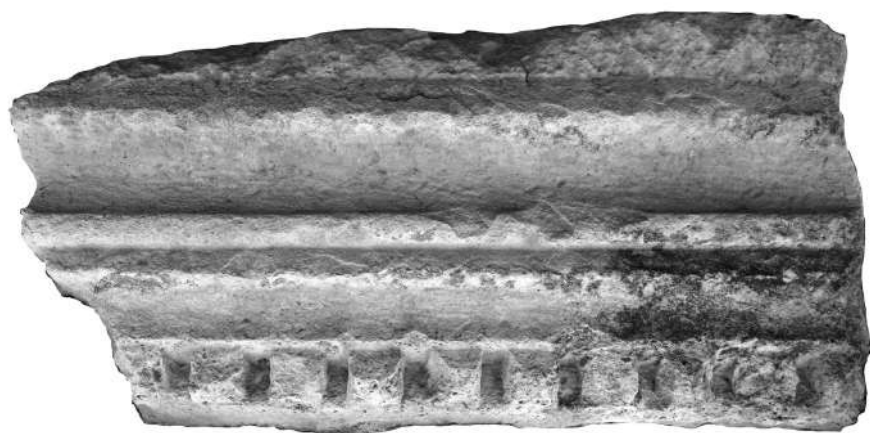
Pl. IV. 1. Fragment of a funerary stele; 2. Fragment from a central wall of a funerary *aedicula*; 3. Fragment of a funerary monument.



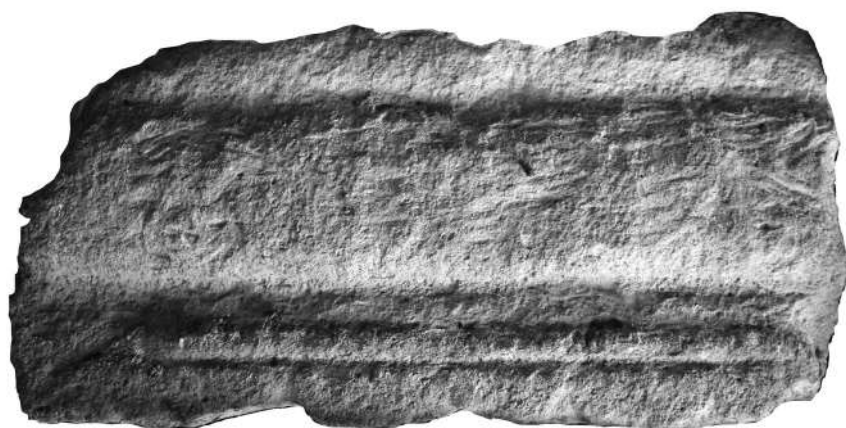
Pl. V. 1-3. Fragments of funerary monuments.



Pl. VI. 1. Fragment of a funerary monument; 2. Votive altar; 3. Fragment of a profiled monument.



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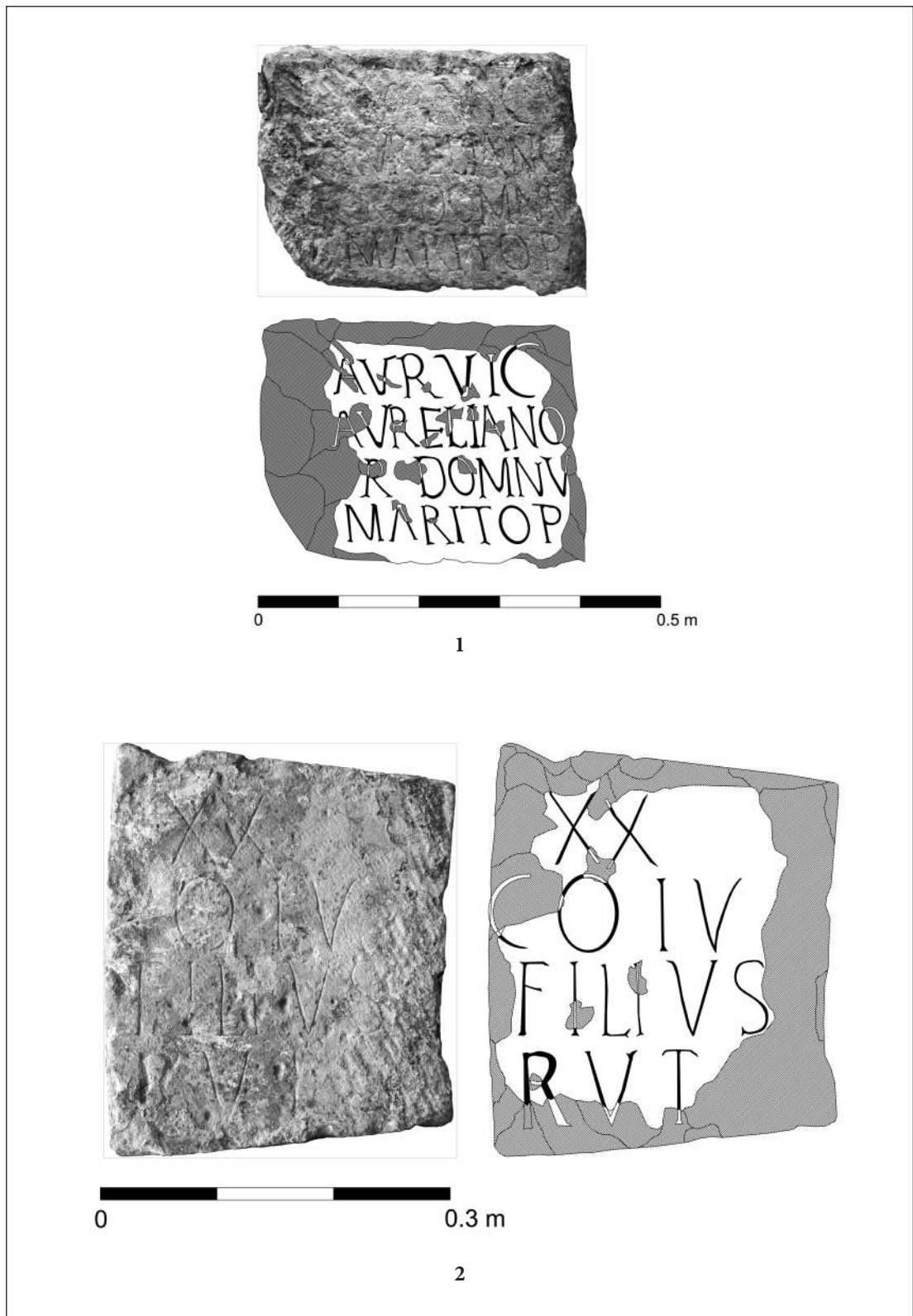


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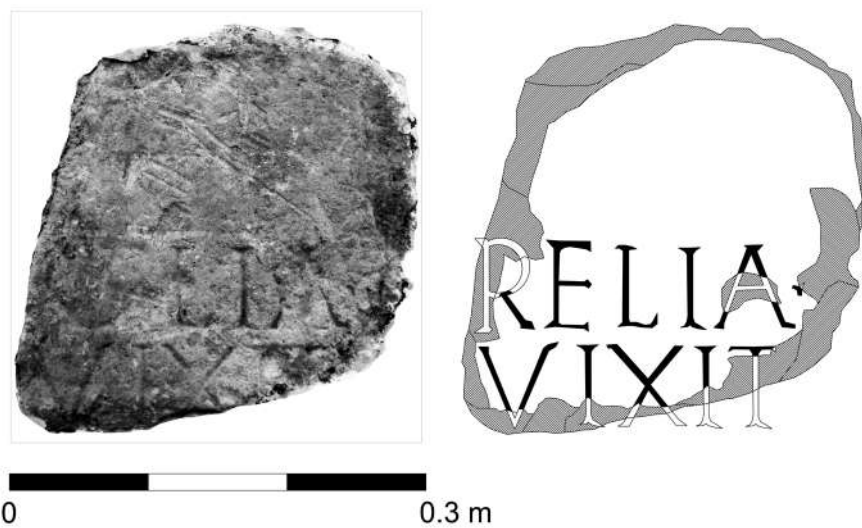


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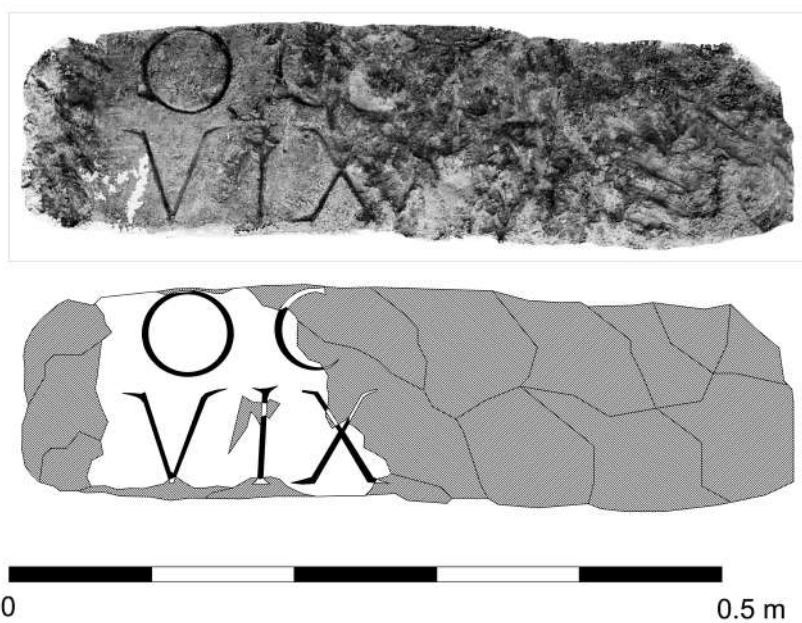
Pl. VII. 1-3. Architectural fragments.



Pl. VIII. 1-2. Fragments of funerary steles.



1



2

Pl. IX. 1-2. Fragments of funerary inscriptions.



Pl. X. 1. Fragment of a profiled monument; 2–3. Fragments of funerary monuments.

ATTILA IN MEDIOLANUM – SOME NOTES ON THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE HUNS

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Abstract: This article pays attention to the fact that no attested contemporary depictions of the Huns have been identified yet. It is so despite the fact that the Suda lexicon mentions the event when King Attila saw a picture in the imperial palace of Milan in 452 representing the victorious emperors and the defeated deceased Huns. According to the story, Attila re-painted the picture where the Roman emperors bringing sacks of gold are shown before his throne. This scene can be identified with the well-known submission scenes of late Roman triumphal monuments of Constantinople, but here, naturally, the Barbarians were depicted kneeling before the emperor(s). The author examined all these monuments (esp. the base of the Theodosius' Obelisk and the Arcadius' Column) and came to the conclusion that these Barbarians cannot be identified as Huns. On the other hand, it cannot be ruled out that the Eastern Barbarians (generally identified as Persians) depicted in the pedestal of the Arcadius Column were Huns. Studying the evidence of later ivory diptychs, the author suggests that there was no significant iconographic distinction between the bearded Persian male figures, the Huns and other nomad peoples. Most probably they were also depicted in trousers with Phrygian caps.

Keywords: History of the Huns; Attila; iconography of the Barbarians; Constantinople; late Roman triumphal monuments.

Rezumat: Acest articol abordează ideea că nu a fost identificată nicio reprezentare a hunilor contemporană acestora, în ciuda faptului că lexiconul Suda citează evenimentul care îl evocă pe regele Attila în palatul imperial din Milano, în 452, privind o imagine care îi reprezintă pe împărații romani învingători și pe hunii decedați învinși. Potrivit narațiunii, Attila a repictat tabloul, împărații romani fiind reprezentați cu saci de aur în fața tronului său. Această scenă poate fi identificată cu binecunoscutele scene de supunere ale monumentelor triumfale romane târzii ale Constantinopolului, dar aici, în mod firesc, barbarii au fost înfățișați în genunchi în fața împăratului. Autorul a examinat toate aceste monumente (în special baza Obeliscului lui Teodosius și Coloana lui Arcadius) și a ajuns la concluzia că acești barbari nu pot fi identificați ca fiind huni. Pe de altă parte, nu se poate exclude faptul că barbarii răsăriteni (în general identificați ca perși) reprezentați pe pedestalul Columnei lui Arcadius să fie huni. Studiind dovezile dipticelor de fildeș mai târzii, autorul sugerează că nu a existat o distincție iconografică semnificativă între figurile masculine persane cu barbă, huni și alte popoare nomade. Cel mai probabil au fost înfățișați și în pantaloni cu bonete frigiene.

Cuvinte cheie: Istoria hunilor; Attila; iconografia barbarilor; Constantinopol; monumente triumfale romane târzii.

One of the biggest problems of the research of the Hun history and archaeology is that no contemporary Roman representations have been survived or identified yet.¹ Because of this fact, only archaeological finds, reconstructions, Renaissance and Early Modern representations – as medallions² and reliefs depicting Attila are used as illustrations (e.g. Certosa di Pavia, Firenze, Padova³) – in the works dealing with the Huns. The only contemporary (but closer undated) representation is an often used bronze mould from Inner Asia (Ordos) that shows the figure of a rider nomad warrior.⁴ Beside this find, only the Hunno-Sarmatian pressed silver bronze plates from the Pontus region and the Pannonian Intercisa that depict bearded male heads can be added.⁵ My former university professor, István Bóna, iterated several times in his university lectures on the archaeology of the Huns that no representation of the Huns survived, but in the Arcadius' Column, they must have been depicted as the Goth Gainas was defeated by Uldin's Huns, but scenes of the column were lost.⁶ As we shall see, Bóna's both statements are false: the scenes of the column can totally be reconstructed, but they did not depict Huns. On the other hand, my professor's opinion has convinced me that one must deal with the iconographic question of the Huns. First, all eastern Roman triumphal monuments of the period must be studied as the columns of Theodosius and Arcadius in Constantinople (including Theodosius' II and Marcian's ones as well). In our point of view, the most important ones are the pedestals of Theodosius' obelisk and Arcadius' Column that show the scene of the submission (*deditio*) of Barbarians. In the last part of my paper, I intend to deal with the question how the Huns could have been depicted.

I. The Columns in Constantinople

a. Theodosius' Column

The column was erected in the forum of the emperor in Constantinople and it imitated Trajan's and Marcus Aurelius' spiral Columns in Rome. This was completely destroyed being

¹ The earlier iconographical attempts to identify the Huns has remained uncertain as in the case of the "Berliner Holzrelief" (much more of Egyptian origin than Western) that can hardly depict Hun federates of Aetius in 425 in Italy or the siege of Aureliani in 451: Törne 2010, 100–103; Dresken-Weiland 2018, 71–84. If the riders would have nomads (there is no any evidence for this) they cannot surely be identified with the Huns. The Hun diadem belonged to the grave furniture of female graves. In 425 the Huns did not siege any Italian town. In my opinion, the contemporary representations of the Huns must have depicted their most important weapon, the famous and dreaded bow. It is also dubious that the human-headed serpent depicted in the coins of Valentinian III would have represented explicitly Attila (mainly with the legend VICTORIA AVGG) (e.g., Demougeot 1984, 141–142; Thompson 1999, 169), as the coin type coming from Western mints can be seen in the entire period of Valentinian's III rule and following his death, under Marcian, Leo, Petronius Maximus, Maiorianus, Libius Severus and Anthemius as well). At the beginning of Valentinian's reign, the serpent probably was identified with Johannes, the tyrant, between 454 and 455 with Aetius or Geiserich (RIC, 10, 1994, p. 56, 162, 163, 363, 364–367, 385–387, 392–396, 398–400, 402–404, 406–409, 416, 454, 456, 458–459, 463–464, 493): Courcelle 1966, 343–353; Demougeot 1986, 94–118. Naturally, following 451 the reverse can refer to the battle of Catalaunum too.

² Babelon 1914, 297–328; Huszár 1947; Scarel 1995, 117–123, and 113–145.

³ Summarily: Scarel 1995, 113–145, reliefs: 142–145.

⁴ Maenchen-Helfen 1973, 205, fig. 1; Bóna 1991, 234, Abb. 1.

⁵ Bóna 1991, 28, 236, Abb. 9.

⁶ Bóna 1991, 19, 236, Abb. 8.

damaged several times (first already in 480, for this reason Theodosius' statue was replaced by that of Anastasius) and it was demolished at the beginning of 16th century because it was collapsed following a hurricane. Several fragments of the column (13 in total) survived and these depict marching Roman soldiers who were triumphant in several battles against the Goths 379–382, 386) and/or in the civilian war against Magnus Maximus (387–388).⁷ According to later Byzantine authors, the column shows the emperor's campaign(s) against the Scythians (i. e. Goths) and other Barbarians (τρόπαια καὶ μάχας ἔχοντα κατὰ Σκυθῶν καὶ βαρβάρων τοῦ αὐτοῦ: Cedr. I.566, Const. Rhod. 209). Theophanes Confessor dated the erection of the column to 386 (Chron. A. M. 5878). These sources suggest that the column depicts rather the events of Promotus' campaign against the Greuthungi and the fragment showing a ship is connected to the Danubian fleet: Frag. 14 = Becatti 1960, Tav. 52a). Emperor Theodosius personally visited the troops of the Lower Danubian campaign, and the victory was followed by a triumph in Constantinople in October 386 as it was mentioned in the Consularia Constantinopolitana: Chron. min. I p. 244 *deinde cum victoria et triumpho ingressi sunt Constantinopolim* (see also Zos. IV.39.1–3).⁸ On the other hand, it must be mentioned that surrendering Roman soldiers and the ship representation (Frag. 14) can also depict the scenes of the civilian war against Magnus Maximus in 387–388 (for instance, they show the event of crossing the river Sava in Pannonia or Theodosius' fleet that sieged Aquileia). This possibility is confirmed by medieval descriptions from the period of the Latin Empire too as they saw sieging a Roman town with ships.⁹ Because of these possibilities, another opinion has been emerged¹⁰ according to which both campaigns could have been depicted in the column. The erection of the column was finished in the year 394 (Chron. Pasch. 565, 6–8) that can also support this hypothesis. It cannot be ruled out that the original plan of the column would have been modified following the victory in 388. Unfortunately, very few fragments of the scenes exist, and the depicted events of the column cannot be reconstructed, and no detailed representation (drawing, etching in contrast to Arcadius' Column) of the column has survived. In his panegyric, Pacatus emphasized that significant part of Theodosius' army fighting in Pannonia in 388 consisted of *foederati*, they were Goths, Alans and Huns who were recruited from the *Barbaricum* beyond the Danube (Pacatus Or. II(XII).11.4, 32.4).¹¹ These federates must have been depicted in the column as well but in the surviving fragments such a representation cannot be identified. Earlier victories of the emperor over these nations between 379 and 382 could have been depicted too because Theodosius defeated Goths, Alans and Huns in this period as well (Chron. Min. I p. 243 cp. II p. 60, Oros. VII.34.5¹² and Alans and Huns were mentioned by

⁷ Kollwitz 1941, 3–8; Becatti 1960, 83–150; Sande 1981, 1–78; Jordan-Ruwe 1995, 150–168; Kiilerich 1993, 50–54; Meyer 2002, 121–143; Arslan 2015, 116–126. For the expedition against Maximus argues Kiilerich 1993, 51–54.

⁸ Chron. min. I p. 244, Claudian. Cos. IIII Hon., 623–636; Paschoud 1986, 168–169, n. 44, Becatti 1960, 106, 109.

⁹ Guntherus, *De expug. urbis Constantinopolitanae* 62: *inter quas erant et navium figure, et quasi scale de navibus erecte, per quas viri armati ascendentes, civitatem nihilominus ibi sculptam expugnare et capere videbantur*, Robert de Clari, *La conquête de Constantinople* 92.

¹⁰ Meyer 2002, 138–139.

¹¹ Kovács 2019, 246–250; Kovács 2021, 32–34.

¹² Chron. Min. I p. 243, II p. 60; Oros. VII.34.5.

Themistius in connection with the peace treaty of 382 concluded with the Goths as well).¹³ In both cases, it cannot be ruled out that Huns would have been represented in the column as enemies or federates of the Roman Empire, but the surviving fragments do not support this hypothesis as they show only Roman soldiers. It must also be mentioned that these columns were triumphal monuments and they had to show the events important in the point of the imperial propaganda (for instance, that is why in Arcadius' Column Gainas' death and the Hun Uldin's victory could not have been depicted, see below).

b. Arcadius' Column (Pl. I/1)

Arcadius' Column is much better known; it was erected along the Mese in the Xerolophos, in the forum of the emperor. A greater part of the column has been destroyed, but the 8 m high pedestal remained with the lower part of the first spiral of the column. Unfortunately, it has been damaged, and the reliefs can hardly be identified (Konrad 2001).¹⁴ Based on literary sources, the building of the column began 402–403 (or rather one year earlier: Theoph. Conf. AM 5895 who dates other contemporary events one year earlier), but it was finished following Arcadius' death with the erection of the emperor's statue at the top in 421.¹⁵ The statue fell down in 740, but the column was demolished only in 1717 as it was heavily damaged in the fires of 1633 and 1660. Fortunately, several drawings of the column and the pedestal remained (besides Pierre Gilles' description around 1550, who exactly measured the monument height too (42 m), those of Lorichs in 1559, and the unknown German artist's work in the Freshfield album from the year 1574, together with Menestrier's (1702) and Las Casas' drawings (prepared in 1784, i. e. following the demolition)). They have made possible the reconstruction of the scenes of the 13 spirals (much fewer than in the case of Trajan's Column). The scenes began with the topographical depiction of Constantinople (several buildings as for instance, the hippodrome can be identified) (spirals 1–2). The following scenes show the events that happened in the capital when Gainas *magister utriusque militiae* (his figure can clearly be identified in S2) and his Gothic troops had to flee because of the uprising of the inhabitants of Constantinople (12 July 400: Chron. Pasch. p. 567,14).¹⁶ In spirals 3–4 the marching of the Goths and their fort can be seen; the first Roman troops appears in spiral 5. Spirals 6–9 depict the battle of Hellespontus when Gainas' troops attempted to cross the straights, but they failed. If the etchings of Louvre show Arcadius' Column (and not that of Theodosius as it was supposed by Becatti) the following scenes of the northern side represented the triumphal procession before the naval battle (spiral 5).¹⁷ The march of the German barefooted, bearded captives

¹³ Them. or. XVI.209c–210c, 211a–b, 211d–212a: Kovács 2021, 140–142, 153–154.

¹⁴ Geffroy 1895; Freshfield 1922; Kollwitz 1941, 17–62; Becatti 1960, 151–264; Müller-Wiener 1977, 250–253; McCormick 1986, 49–51; Liebschuetz 1990, 273–278; Cameron et alii 1993, 237–238, 247–248; Jordan-Ruwe 1995, 150–168; Konrad 2001; Meyer 2002, 143–159; Kelly 2006; Taddei 2009; Matthews 2012; Arslan 2015, 126–138.

¹⁵ Chron. min. II, p. 75 (Marcellinus Comes); Chron. Pasch. p. 579, 15–18.

¹⁶ See PLRE I, Gainas, Gildenpennig 1885, 125–131; Demougeot 1951, 256–262; Albert 1984, 130–140; Liebschuetz 1990, 111–126; Cameron et alii 1993, 323–333.

¹⁷ *Columna Theodosiana, quam vulgo historiatam vocant, ab Arcadio imperatore Constantinopoli erecta in honorem imperatoris Theodosii junioris a Gentile Bellini delineata, nunc primum aere sculpta et in XVIII tabulas distributa*, Venetiis 1765; Kollwitz 1941, 21–23; Becatti 1960, 111–150, esp. 126, 127, 132–133, 137–139.

(in trousers) can clearly be identified (among them there are also female figures: as No. 28) (Nos. 26–27, 36, 37, 41, the Barbarian chiefs are sitting in a chariot (Nos. 6, 12), but *tropaia* can also be seen (No. 37). Spirals 10–12 depict the scenes of three equestrian battles in Thrace¹⁸ when Roman troops under Fravitta's command defeated Gainas again. One of the battles took place in the banks of a river, most probably the Danube (E10). The victorious emperor(s) are shown sitting in the *kathisma* as they were crowned by Victoria figure at the very end of the scenes (spiral 13). The column did not depict Gainas' final defeat and death. According to the literary sources, he fled across the Danube and Uldin's Huns defeated and killed him on 23 December 400 (Chron. Pasch. p. 567, 16). His severed head was sent to Constantinople at the beginning of January 401.¹⁹ Among the figures of the column, Gainas and his Goths can clearly be distinguished based on his fur coats (S2)²⁰ as the mocking adjective *pellitus* was widely used for them in the contemporary literature (Synesius' description on the Barbarian commander ('man in skins leading warriors') in *De regno* 23C that suit perfectly Gainas).²¹ One of Claudian's most important accusations against Rufinus was his alleged Goth wear (in Ruf. II, 78–85).²² Based on the recognizable representation of the Goths, if equestrian archer Huns would have been depicted on the column, one should have recognized them. Based on these observations, Huns were not depicted in the column that showed only the battles between Romans and Goths and the Roman victory. The reliefs of the pedestal will be studied below.

c. The Columns of Theodosius II and Marcian

The Columns of Theodosius II²³ and Marcian²⁴ in Constantinople are much better known, only the imperial statues at the top are lost, the shaft of the columns and the pedestals with the Latin inscriptions have remained. On the other hand, it must be mentioned that neither of them belonged to the group of the triumphal monuments, moreover, according

¹⁸ Zos. V.21.6; Ioann. Ant. Frag. 216.4; Socrates VI.6.34; Sozomen VIII.4.30.

¹⁹ Chron. min. II p. 66; Chron. Pasch. p. 567, 19–20; Zos. V.22.1–3; Phil. XI.8. Demougeot 1951, 261–262; Albert 1984, 139–140; Maenchen-Helfen 1973, 59, n. 215; Paschoud 1986, 168–169, n. 44. The extremist hypothesis that excludes the role of the Huns in the events must be rejected. The idea is based on the passages Socrates VI.6.34 and Sozomen VIII.4.30 that do not mention the Huns (unless the term 'other Roman troop' did not cover the Huns): Cameron et alii 1993, 331. Marcellinus Comes' data (according to which Gainas would have died only in February) can only be accepted if the exact dates given in the Chronicon Paschale would not have been used (12 July: expel from Constantinople, the date of death, and the arrival of his head at Constantinople). In this case, the generally accepted chronology of the year 400 remains dubious. Based on this fact, the data of the Greek source must have been more exact: The Chronicle of Marcellinus. Translation and commentary by Brian Croke. Sydney 1995, 66. It must also be mentioned that Marcellinus dated Gainas' death to February 400, but the first event in his chronicle in the year 401 is the arrival of Gainas' head to the capital of East Rome.

²⁰ Cameron et alii 1993, 99; Rummel 2007, 143–155.

²¹ Esp. by Claudian: Claud. IV Cons. Hon. 466, bell. Get. 481; Rut. Namat. red. 2.49–51; Max. Taur. serm. 18.3; Paul. Nol. carm. 10, 246; Syn. de regno 22A, 23C; Ioann. Chrys. hom. cum Saturninus et Aurelianus 1 PG 52, 415, in acta apost. hom. 37 PG 60, 267; Eugipp. v. Sev. 7; Sidon. Epist. 1.2.4, 5.7.4, 7.9.19; Carm. 5, 563, 7, 349; Prosp. de provid. 142–145; Ennod. vita Epiphani 67; Coripp. Ioh. 2.1–5; Cameron et alii 1993, 99; Rummel 2007, 143–167. Cod. Theod. XIV.10.2–4 from the years 397, 399 and 416 AD that forbade the wearing of trousers and skins (*indumenta pellium*).

²² Cameron 1970, 63–92; Liebschuetz 1990, 57; Rummel 2007, 143–148.

²³ Makridou 1938, 170–173; Demangel 1945, 35–38; Arslan 2015, 144–146; LSA-31.

²⁴ Kollwitz 1941, 73–75; Müller-Wiener 1977, 405–411; Arslan 2015, 147–148; LSA-2461.

to the inscription of the pedestal, Marcian's Column was erected by Tatianus, the *praefectus urbi* as a private *votum* (Tatianus held the office of the PRC between 450 and 452).²⁵ In this pedestal, Victoria (or Genii?) figures holding a shield and Christograms can be seen and it did not depict Barbarians. In the case of Theodosius' inscription (if the restoration of the fragmentary text is correct), there is a reference to the victories of the emperor over the Barbarians (i.e. the Huns): [*fortissimus triumphato*]r [*gentium barbararum pere*]nnis [*et ubique*]e [*victor*], but the monument did not show Huns or other Barbarians either. According to a generally accepted hypothesis, it was erected in 449. In this case, the victory must concern the peace treaty bought with gold.²⁶ Marcian's campaigns against the Huns in 451 and 452 did not have any role in the erection of his column either.

II. The scene of the submission in the bases of Theodosius' obelisk and the Column of Arcadius

During the work of the series *Fontes Hunnorum* that contains all Greek and Latin sources dealing with Huns,²⁷ I have found only one single passage that mentions the Huns were depicted in Roman monuments. Two entries of the *Suda* lexicon (Κόρυκος and Μεδιόλανον) most probably cited the same passage of Priscus Rhetor, but in the historian's modern editions these passages were added only by R. C. Blockley (Frag. 22.3).²⁸ According to these entries, Attila, during his Italian campaign in 452, following the occupation of Milan, saw in the imperial palace a picture (the word γραφή was used, that means a painting or mosaic). It depicted Huns lying dead before the throne of the Roman emperors. The Hun ruler re-painted the picture with himself sitting on the throne and the Roman emperors carrying sacks full of gold and pouring it before his feet. This story clearly shows that following 376, the imperial propaganda must have depicted the Huns too.

Suda K 2123 Κόρυκος: ὁ θύλακος, ὅτι Ἀττήλας Μεδιόλανον πολυάνθρωπον εὐρὼν πόλιν, ὡς εἶδεν ἐν γραφῇ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖς ἐπὶ χρυσῶν θρόνων καθημένους, Σκύθας δὲ πρὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ποδῶν, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν μὲν ζωγραφεῖν ἐπὶ θάκου, τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖς κορύκους φέρειν ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων καὶ χρυσὸν χέειν πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ.

M 405 Μεδιόλανον: πολυάνθρωπος πόλις, ἣν καταλαβὼν Ἀττήλας ἡνδραποδίσατο. ὡς δὲ εἶδεν ἐν γραφῇ τοὺς μὲν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖς ἐπὶ χρυσῶν θρόνων καθημένους, Σκύθας δὲ ἀνηρημένους καὶ πρὸ τῶν σφῶν ποδῶν κειμένους, ζητήσας ζωγράφον ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν μὲν γράφει ἐπὶ θάκου, τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖς κορύκους φέρειν ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων καὶ χρυσὸν πρὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ χέειν ποδῶν.

Milan, a very populous country which Attila captured and enslaved. When he saw in a painting the Roman emperors sitting upon golden thrones and Scythians lying dead before their feet, he sought out a painter and ordered him to paint Attila upon a throne and the Roman Emperors heaving sacks upon their shoulders and pouring out gold before his feet (translation by R. C. Blockley).

²⁵ PLRE II, Tatianus 1: CIL III 738 = ILS 824 = CLE 824: [*Pr*]incipis hanc statuam Marciani / cerne torumque / [*prae*]fectus vovit quod Tatianus / opus.

²⁶ AE 1947, 185 (see also AE 2012, 51): *D(ominus) n(oster) Theodos[ius Pius Felix August]us / Imperator et [fortissimus triumphato]r / [gentium barbararum pere]nnis [et ubique]e / [victor pro] votis sororum pacato / [orbe Rom]ano celsus exultat.*

²⁷ Kovács 2021.

²⁸ Blockley 1983, 314–315; Zecchini 2021, 113–121.

The scene mentioned in the Suda was an opposite submission. The representation of the *deditio* was widely used in triumphal monuments of the late Roman period when Barbarians, envoys standing or kneeling before the Roman emperor's throne bring sacks full of coins or precious stones, golden or ivory artefacts) as gifts in case of an embassy or as tax in case of submission.²⁹ This scene was applied by Attila or the painter, but the figures changed their roles. The scene appears first in Melchior Lorichs' etching that shows most probably the pedestal of Constantine the Great's Porphyry Column erected in 328 (the original pedestal cannot be seen today as it has been surrounded).³⁰ The scene depicts standing young figures holding the sacks among Barbarians and Victoria figures. As the above-mentioned passages of the Sudan and Procopius' account (*Proc. De aedif.* I.10.16–17) clearly show the scene could have appeared among the paintings of imperial palaces and in diptycha as well (for instance, in the case of Barberini diptych and another one that depict Scythians (most probably Bulgars: see below) and Indians).³¹ On the other hand, several late Roman and Byzantine sources mention mainly in the period between Constantine (first in Eusebius' *Vita Constantini*) and Justinian the popularity of the scene of submission of Barbarians who are kneeling before the throne of the emperor.³² The scene, i. e. the presentation of the subdued Barbarians and the booty in the hippodrome (and in the forum) before the emperor belonged to the permanent elements of the Byzantine triumph (*Const. De cerem.* 332,1, 607,15, 612,19).³³

a. The base of the obelisk of Theodosius (Pl. I/2)

The same scene appears in the pedestal of Theodosius' Obelisk in the hippodrome too.³⁴ The Egyptian obelisk was re-erected by Proculus *praefectus urbi* during his term of office (PLRE I, Proculus 6), probably in 390, based on the Greek and Latin verse inscription of the pedestal, surely following the victory over Magnus Maximus and Victor in 388 (CIL III 737 p. 990 = ILS 821 = CLE 286 = AE 2010, 1523 (*extinctis... tyrannis*), *Anth. Graeca* IX, 682 = CIG 8612, *Chron. min.* II p. 62).³⁵ Each side of the wider lower and the narrower upper parts are decorated with scenes, the two inscriptions in *tabula ansata* can be found below of SE and NW sides. Below, the scenes happened in the hippodrome (as the erection

²⁹ Kollitz 1941, 36–44. The scene of the offer of the *aurum coronarium* is very similar but it was offered by personified towns and provinces.

³⁰ Delbrueck 1932, 140–145; Müller-Wiener 1977, 255–257; Engemann 1989, 249–265 (who connected it to Leo I's column: LSA-2462), Mango 1993, Ch. III-IV; Jordan-Ruwe 1995, 132–134 (according to the author, it could have belonged to an unidentified lost column); Arslan 2015, 104–116; Arslan 2016, 121–145.

³¹ Delbrueck 1929, 188–200, No. 48–49.

³² *Vita Constantini* IV.7, 50; *Greg. Naz. or.* IV.80 (PG 35, 605) (the scene was also used in paintings); *Joh. Chrys. in inscr. altaris* I.3 (PG 51,71), in *dictum Pauli*: *Nolo vos ignorare* 4 (PG 51, 247), in *illud evang.*: *Quod dicebant* 4 (PG 59, 650); *Joh. Damasc. de imag. or.* 3 (PG 94, 1380); *Proc. de aedif.* I.10.16.17 (the picture in the imperial palace in Constantinople shows the submission of Vandals and Goths).

³³ *Constantine Porphyrogenetos: The Book of Ceremonies*. Translated by Ann Moffatt, Maxeme Tall. Leiden – Boston 2012, see also McCormick 1986.

³⁴ Bruns 1935; Byvanck 1960; Balty 1982; Rebenich 1991; Kiilerich 1997; Safran 1993; Geyssen 1998; Meyer 2002, 115–129.

³⁵ *Difficilis quondam dominis parere serenis / iussus et extinctis palmam portare tyrannis / omnia Theodosio cedunt subolique perenni / ter denis sic victus ego domitusque diebus / iudice sub Proclo superas elatus ad auras.* κίονα τετράπλευρον, αἰὲν χθονὶ κείμενον ἄχθος, / μούνος ἀναστῆσαι Θεωδῶσιος βασιλεὺς / τολμήσας, Πρόκλος (sic!) ἐπεκέκλετο, καὶ τόσος ἔστη / κίων ἡλείους ἐν τριακονταδύο.

of the obelisk) are depicted, the emperor and the court appear in the scenes of the upper part. In NE and SW sides, the emperor(s) (NE: Theodosius with Gratian and Eucherius, SW: Theodosius, Valentinian II, Arcadius and Honorius) are shown with the imperial guard and the members of the court, in the lower register the erection of the obelisk and the chariot race can be seen. In the SE side (facing the kathisma), above the Latin inscription, the emperor holding a crown together with Gratian and Eucherius (?), the guard and high-ranking officials is shown, but in the lower register the spectators in two lines are depicted watching music and dance games. In our point of view, the most important side is the NW one (facing to the circus factions). Here, Theodosius and his sons and Valentinian II are sitting in the kathisma above, next to the members of the court and the imperial guard can be seen. In the lower register that was planned to promote the military command skills of the emperor, from the left three, kneeling, bearded Barbarians in trousers (usually identified with Persians) are represented, from the right, five German figures can be seen (the identification is based on their fur coats). In their hands, the baskets full with gifts and gold are clearly visible. The widely accepted identification of the Persian is based on their embassy to the emperor staying in Rome in 389 who greeted Theodosius (and Honorius) with *proskynesis* (Claud. VI cons. Hon. 69–72: *submisere genus*).³⁶ The appearance of the Germans can refer to the campaigns of the years 379–382 and 386 too, but the *communis opinio* is that the scene cannot be linked to any specific campaign but it shows the reverence of the envoys from the East and the West for Theodosius.³⁷ In the rear line of the Germans, there is a kneeling figure who is looking quite different (different hairstyle, wide nose). He was already identified as African (G. Bruns, J. Ch. Balty) or Hun (S. Rebenich) as well.³⁸ The latter possibility, that the figure does not show any typical characters of the Mongoloid (or Turkish) race, can almost surely be excluded. The Huns, as they were a new and unknown people in the Theodosian era, must have had more typical anthropological and clothing characteristics, as for instance they were described in Ammianus Marcellinus' or Sidonius Apollinaris' work (add also Attila's description on Jordanes' *Getica*).³⁹ In my opinion, the identification given by J. Ch. Balty is the most convincing one; he identified the rear Barbarian figures from the left with Arabs, and the figures behind the Germans as Africans.⁴⁰ According to his solution, Barbarian envoys from the East, the West (and the North) and from the South are showing their reverence for the emperor.

b. The base of the Column of Arcadius (Pl. I/3; Pl. II/1–2)

Several detailed depictions of three sides of the base have remained, the most important ones in the Freshfield album.⁴¹ The fourth side was undecorated because of the entrance of the column and the staircase.⁴² In all three sides the scenes were arranged in four

³⁶ Bruns 1935, 40–41; Rebenich 1991, 457.

³⁷ Geyssen 1998.

³⁸ Rebenich 1991, 456.

³⁹ Amm. XXXI.2.2–3; Claud. in Ruf. 323–331; Jord. Get. XXXV.182 (on Attila); Sid. Paneg. Anth. (Carm. II), 245–269. Seyfarth 1968, 207–213; Richter 1974, 343–377; Ferrari 2016, 315–344; Kovács 2021, 23–24, 86–88.

⁴⁰ Balty 1982.

⁴¹ Freshfield 1922.

⁴² Kollwitz 1941, 33–60; Becatti 1960, 251–264.

registers.⁴³ The scenes of the eastern and the western sides are very similar. Above, a cross within a crown can be seen, which was held by Victoria, below the victorious emperors (Arcadius and Honorius) are depicted with cuirass and lance (western side) or *togati* (eastern side). Next to them, officials (*chlamydati*) and the imperial guards are shown. In the third register of the western side a tropaion was depicted in the middle with figures wearing Phrygian caps, and Victoria. From the left, kneeling Germans in fur coats with gifts/gold in their hand can be seen. From the right, there are Barbarian captives with Phrygian cap and Roman soldiers. In the lowest register again kneeling captives with Phrygian caps are depicted from the right among looted weapons (for instance, bows, quivers, pelta shields) and labarum. From the left, kneeling German (?) male, female and child figures can be found. In the eastern side, in the damaged third register, the personification of Rome and Constantinople are depicted with the members of the two senates who hold golden crowns (*aurum oblativum*). Below also looted weapons with sitting, veiled female (and a standing child) figures can be seen. The scene is framed by the Victoria figures standing in pedestals. In the main southern side, weapons can be found in the uppermost register, below Victoria figures with Christogram and tropaia. In the third register, the emperors with Victoria figures in their hands are represented with two kneeling captives. From the left and right, imperial guards and officials can be seen. Below, personifications of cities (provinces?) of the Roman Empire with *corona muralis* are shown with golden crowns (*aurum coronarium*) in their hands. In the middle, there are two Victoria figures and two female figures with torches who represent the capitals of the empire. The Victoria figures hold their hands on kneeling captives. In our point of view, the most important figures are the Eastern bearded captives with Phrygian caps and trousers in the third and fourth registers of the western side who are depicted with their weapons (pelta shield, bow, and quiver). The scenes of the column show the events of the campaign against Gainas, the scenes of the pedestal cannot be linked to any concrete historical event. Despite the fact, that during Arcadius' reign no military expedition against the Persians or embassies are attested,⁴⁴ the captives are generally identified with Persians,⁴⁵ or with an unnamed Eastern enemy (Honorius and Arcadius are depicted together, that is why the Germans can refer to the enemy of the West and North).⁴⁶ On the other hand, the appearance of Persian captives is unfounded. It cannot be ruled out that the captives were Huns as following the Hun attack in 395, there were successful Eastern Roman campaigns against them in 398 (Eutropius' (*praepositus sacri cubiculi*) campaign in Armenia),⁴⁷ and it is less known that following Gainas' death in 401, Fravitta (the Roman military commander) had to fight in Thrace against fugitive and slave elements who identified themselves as Huns.⁴⁸ One should add that Uldin's incursion in

⁴³ Few figures and scenes of the pedestal can only be identified because it is also damaged in fires: Konrad 2011, 336–348.

⁴⁴ Gldenpennig 1885.

⁴⁵ Kollwitz 1941, 35–36, 43.

⁴⁶ Becatti 1960, 259–261.

⁴⁷ Attested only in Claudianus' invectiva mixed with the events of 395: Claud. in Eutrop. I, 234–286, esp. 245–257, II pr. 55–56, 365–366; PLRE II, Eutropius 1; Demougeot 1951, 190; Cameron 1970, 125; Long 1996, 18–19, 128–129, 133, 184, 230; Albert 1979, 621–645; Maenchen-Helfen 1973, 56–57.

⁴⁸ Zos. V.22.3: τν δ πραγμτων σν οδενι λγω φερομνων οια το βασιλως φρονσεως στερημνου, τ ν τ Θρκη συνεταρττετο: φυγδες γρ οικται κα λλως τς τξεις πολιπντες, Οννους αυτος

408 was also successfully repelled (Soz. IX.5.1–7; Niceph. Call. H. E. XIII.35; Hier. Comm. in Es. III.7.21).⁴⁹ The depiction of the Huns had to be similar to that of the Persians, the frequent appearance of the bows and quivers can also refer to the Huns. On the other, a lion figure can also be seen with the Eastern captives that does not support this identification.

In both pedestals Eastern Barbarians with Phrygian caps are depicted who are usually identified as Persians. Their Greek and Roman iconography was basically identical with that of the Scythians,⁵⁰ as they appear already in Attic vases in the 6th century BC.⁵¹ It cannot be decided whether Persians or Huns were depicted in Arcadius' Column, but the representation of the Huns was probably very similar. It is the most obvious solution that saw a similar picture in the imperial palace of Milan and he identified the dead Barbarians as Huns.

c. Barbarians of the Barberini diptych (Pl. II/3)

In the identification of these scenes showing eastern Barbarians, other representations can help where surely migration period nomad peoples were depicted. Here, I intend to study only with one of them, the so-called Barberini diptychon.⁵² The diptych (slightly bigger than the other ones) can be linked to the person of Brunhilda of Austrasia (in the back side, there is a prayer for the kings of Austrasia and bishops of Trier and other persons from the 7th century (all together 351 are enumerated). In the middle scene, the victorious emperor (Anastasius or Justinian) was depicted with his horse, before his feet the personification of the defeated enemy or area can be seen. Behind the lance of the emperor the surrendering bearded Barbarian with fur cap can be found. Above the emperor, there are angels holding Christ's image, beside the emperor figures of the consuls with Victoria can be seen. Below, one can see the scene of the submission, from the left, half-naked figures bringing elephant fang as gift, represented with elephant and tiger, are depicted; they can be identified as Indians. From the left, two bearded figures with fur cap, trouser and short cloak can be seen. In their hands, there is a basket and a crown. The wide and blunt nose, the narrow eyes and the cap of the figures clearly distinguish them from Persians that is why they have been identified as Scythians. The appearance of the Scythians in the 6th century would have been anachronistic, the figures must be identified with a contemporary eastern nomad tribe. If the emperor of the central scene depicts Anastasius or Justinian (during the first decades of his reign) as it has been generally accepted the Barbarians can probably be identified with the Bulgars (who were frequently called Huns) who were defeated first by Justinian in 529

εἰπόντες εἶναι, τὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑπαίθοις διήρπαζον, ἕως ὃ Φράουιττος ἐπιστρατεύσας, καὶ ὅσοις ἐνέτυχεν ἀνελών, ἔξω φόβου πεποίηκε τοὺς οἰκήτορας; Demougeot 1951, 265, n. 178, Maenchen-Helfen 1973, 59, n. 215.

⁴⁹ Maenchen-Helfen 1973, 63–66.

⁵⁰ Schoppa 1933; Schneider 1986; Landskron 2005.

⁵¹ Vos 1963; Raeck 1981.

⁵² Delbrueck 1929, 188–196, No. 48; Héron de Villefosse 1915–1918, 267–295; Volbach 1976³, 47–48, No. 48; Cutler 1991, 329–339; Gaborit-Chopin 2003, 49–54. A very similar scene can be observed on the diptych of the Castello Sforzesco of Milan (dated to the same period) (Delbrueck 1929, 196–200, No. 49; Volbach 1976, 49, No. 49) where the gifts and the sacks were offered by Barbarians with Phrygian caps from both sides, but only one figure of them is bearded, all the others are shaved. They hold in their hand smaller male figures with the gifts. In the middle two sitting captives are depicted (one of them is also bearded). Sitting Barbarian women in chiton with their child can also be seen. Despite the Phrygian caps, they were also identified as Scythians by Delbrueck.

and 535.⁵³ On the other hand, the figures identified as Indians can probably be linked to the Indian embassy in 496 who brought elephants and giraffes to Constantinople as gifts (Chron. min. II, p. 94). Based on the study of this diptych, it is not sure that all depictions of Eastern Barbarians with Phrygian cap of the Late Antiquity should be identified as Persians in each case.

Based on the observations, we can come to the following conclusions:

1. based on Priscus' data, it is sure that for the use of imperial propaganda in East and West Rome the Huns must have been depicted, the most obvious ones were the scene of the victorious emperors with the defeated enemies and the scene of the *deditio* (Attila had to see a similar picture in Mediolanum, and it is not sure that the Barbarians he saw were Huns (and not another Eastern nation). It must also be added that no late Roman-early Byzantine representation has survived that assuredly showed Huns. Among the above-mentioned possibilities, the pedestal of the Arcadius' Column must be taken into account seriously.⁵⁴

2. The iconography of the Huns cannot be separated from traditional representations of the Scythians and Persians (bearded male figures with Phrygian caps and trousers (*anaxyrides*)). As the Scythian-Bulgars in the Barberini diptych that is surely later than the Hun period clearly shows that new iconographic elements were hardly added for the representation of the early medieval nomads (the wide nose and the use of fur cap instead of the Phrygian one).

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⁵³ Chron. min. II, p. 94 (493), 95 (499), 96 (502), 99–100 (517), 103 (530), 104 (535); Jord. Rom. 356; Zon. XIV.4.8–10; Malalas XVIII.21, 46 (528–529: Huns); Proc. II.4.4.11 (Huns: 539–540, already Kutrigur?); Haarer 2006, 104–106; Sarantis 2016, 21–32, 101–108, 240–247 (544), 288–293 (Kutrigur: 550–551), 336–349 (Kutrigur: 559).

⁵⁴ In the bottom register of the consular diptych of Halberstadt, Eastern and/or German Barbarian captives can be observed: Delbrueck 1929, 87–93, No. 2; Volbach 1976, 42, No. 35; Cameron 1998; Engemann 1999, 158–168. Bühl 2001, 193–203; Rummel 2007, 245–249. The female figures were depicted in chiton, with their children, as in the case of the above cited diptych. The bearded men (only of them is shaved) are shown sitting or kneeling with chained hands. They wear trousers, overgarment with V-shaped cut-outs (caftan?), one of them has a Phrygian (?) cap. Oval and polygonal shields, quiver and a long spatha with cross-iron are depicted over them. According to A. Cameron, the diptych represented Flavius Constans (consul of the East 414: PLRE II, Constans 3) (and not Flavius Constantius (cos. 417) as it is generally accepted), who was earlier *magister militum per Thracias* and he had to deal with the safety of the Lower Danubian provinces (especially with the building of the Roman fleet on the Danube (Cod. Theod. VII.17.1, 412 AD). If his identification is correct, the Barbarians can also be identified as Huns (instead of Persians, Sarmatians, Alans). The depicted weapons (esp. the quiver and the decorated long sword) do not refute this possibility.

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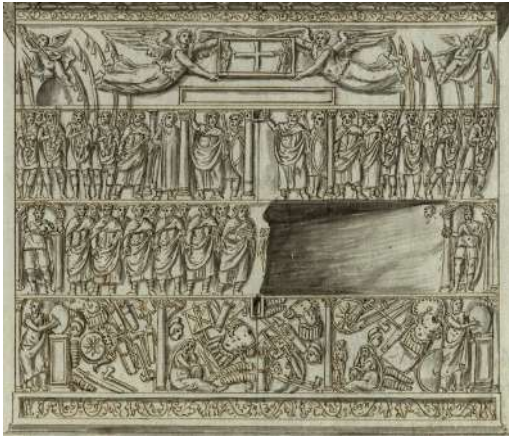


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Pl. I. 1. The Column of Arcadius (after Freshfield 1922); **2.** The base of Theodosius' obelisk (NW side) (source: thebyzantinelegacy.com/theodosius-obelisk); **3.** The pedestal of Arcadius' Column (western side) (after Freshfield 1922).



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Pl. II. 1. The pedestal of Arcadius' Column (eastern side) (after Freshfield 1922); **2.** The pedestal of Arcadius' Column (southern side) (after Freshfield 1922); **3.** The Barberini diptych (photo: wikipedia, Marie-Lan Nguyen).

AN EARLY AVAR-AGE JUG FROM BANDU

BEÁTA BARBOCZ

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Abstract: A jug of Germanic type was found at the Migration period cemetery of Band during archaeological excavations performed there by Kovács István. The cemetery is part of the row – grave cemeteries which expand from Britain to Transylvania in this period. The vessel has analogies in the contemporary cemetery Bratei no. 3 (Sibiu County), and in contemporary cemeteries from the Hungarian Plain. The artifact might offer an insight into the changes which one can witness during the Early Avar Period, and might contribute to a better understanding of the cemetery, of the funeral rites, and of its chronology.

Keywords: row-grave cemetery; funeral vessel; Band – Veresmort group; Early Avar Period; pottery.

Rezumat: Un vas de tip germanic din epoca migrațiilor a fost descoperit în cimitirul de la Band în cadrul cercetărilor arheologice efectuate de Kovács István. Cimitirul face parte din orizontul cimitirelor dispuse în șiruri paralele care în această epocă sunt prezente din Britania până în Transilvania. Vasul își găsește analogii în cimitirele contemporane precum cimitirul 3 de la Bratei și în cimitirele din această epocă din Câmpia Panonică. Artefactul ne poate oferi o înțelegere mai bună asupra schimbărilor din epoca avară și poate contribui la o mai bună înțelegere a acestui cimitir, în ce privește riturile funerare și cronologia acestuia.

Cuvinte-cheie: cimitire organizate în șiruri paralele; vas funerar; grupul Band – Vereșmort; epoca avară timpurie; ceramică.

The cemetery of Band (Mureș County) was excavated by Kovács István in 1906–1907. He identified 176 archaeological complexes in a Migration period row-grave cemetery. Most of the graves were affected by the phenomenon called grave robbing, which is quite frequent during this period in the cemeteries. According to Kovács the cemetery had been used for a long period of time, and he assigned some elements of it to the Gepids, and others (the nomadic elements) to the Avars.¹

Géza Bakó dated the cemetery of Band between the years 600–650. In his opinion, it might have a close relationship with other Migration period cemeteries in Transylvania and the Tisza Region, and it can be related to the Sântana de Mureș – Chernyakhov culture. The Gepidic group of Morești might have disintegrated after the year 600, then a new type of cemeteries appeared. He emphasizes the nomadic aspect of the 14 graves with horse bones and concludes that the NE part of the cemetery is lacking the Germanic archaeological material.²

¹ Kovács 1913, 265–429.

² Bakó 1960, 22–31.

Kurt Horedt made a typology of the archaeological material belonging to the Migration period Germanic cemeteries from Transylvania. In his opinion, the group III (Morești group) and group IV (Band – Vereșmort group) have no chronological or ethnic links, the first one being related to the Gepids, and the second one to late Germanic populations.³

Dezső Csallány studied the archaeological material of this period from the Tisza Region, Transylvania and the Srem Region. He elaborated his own chronological system related to historical events. The first-time sequence is the period before 454, 454–472, 472–568, and 568–672. In his opinion more cemeteries which could be associated with Gepids might be dated in Early Avar Period.⁴

In the 1970s, a slight change can be observed, and due to the political climate, a tendency of openness to the Western European countries. In the same time more large-scale excavations took place in Transylvania, such as the cemetery of Noșlac (Alba County) with 80 graves,⁵ the cemetery of Bratei no. 3 (Sibiu County) with 293 graves excavated,⁶ the cemetery of Fântânele (Bistrița-Năsăud County),⁷ or the cemetery of Galații Bistriței (Bistrița-Năsăud County).⁸

According to Orton's Pottery in Archaeology a vessel's form determinates certain aspects of its intended usage. Also, pottery might bear a function in expressing the social status or wealth of the owner.⁹

Buko states that there are many methods to describe forms of pottery and there is no universal system to do it. The geometrical method is the most widely used, being a structural analysis of the vessel's form. As an example, in case of the Medieval Polish pottery four attributes are taken into account: the size of the rim, neck, belly and base. According to his Vessel Shape Family (VSF) System pottery can be classified into forms, which can be divided into variants.¹⁰

A vessel can have three main functions: transport, processing or storage.¹¹ The last one seems to be the most plausible option, since in this case the vessel had the function of a funeral offering which might have stored liquids as funeral offering.

The hardness of a vessel is the attribute which defines how the vessel resists to mechanical stress, such as penetration (described as stiffness), resistance to breakage (lack of brittleness), shattering or failure (integrity), and deformation (by compression). These properties have a direct relation to the composition of the paste and firing of the pottery. In case of the pottery vessels one of the greatest threats is transfer in wet or fired states, causing the vessel to break or deform.¹²

³ Horedt 1977, 251–268

⁴ Csallány 1961, 200.

⁵ Rusu 1962, 269–292.

⁶ Bârză 2010.

⁷ Dobos, Opreanu 2012

⁸ Harhoiu 2008, 183–241.

⁹ Orton et alii 1993, 76–77.

¹⁰ Buko 1998, 381–388.

¹¹ Rice 1987, 208–209.

¹² Rice 1987, 228.

According to Kovács' description the vessel was found in grave 137 and is the only one jug-type vessel in the whole cemetery. This fact makes the vessel quite special and worthy to analyse. The grave was oriented W-E, the size: 1.80 × 0.7 meters with the depth of 1.3 meters. A reddish spot was found (which could have been the remains of leather or wood traces) and near this the jug.¹³

As he describes: the vessel is grey (!), made on fast potter's wheel, easily slanted, with polished surface and undecorated (Pl. I).¹⁴

The vessel has a rounded easily splayed mouth, a slim neck with a band from its own material added to it, an assymetrically rounded body and a flattened bottom. It is indeed polished and undecorated, as it has been described. It is made out of fine clay with finely sieved sand as inclusion to the paste. Thickness of the wall: 3–5 mm, minimum and maximum width of the mouth: 38–42 mm, height: 120 mm, site: Band (former Mezőbánd, Mureş County), Repository: MNIT, inv. no: v1517 (II9358), Munsell: 10 YR- 5/4 (light brown) (Pl. II).

More vessels made after Germanic traditions were found within other graves of this cemetery, being already published.¹⁵

This subgroup is the pottery made after Germanic traditions in Early Avar Age. The pottery is of very good quality, made with relatively clean clay, with 5–10% of sand with very fine granulation, with the particle size between 0.2–0.5 mm. Besides sand, limestone particles, and whitewash are the most frequent inclusions (with the particle sizes varying between 1–2 mm). The walls of the vessels are usually very thin, between 5–7 mm. In most cases these vessels were burnt using the reductant burning technique. According to the pottery durability chart, they can not be scratched by human nail, but they can be scratched by iron. The most representative forms of this group are cups, jugs (with or without handle), and drinkingware.¹⁶ Frequently they are decorated with stamped decoration, or burnished decoration.¹⁷

Similar jugs were found in a funerary context in the Bratei cemetery, which could be used as the closest analogies of the vessel. The type 05a (present in G30, G266, G92, and G165) has a double conical body, short neck and rounded rim. Analogies for this type are known from Moreşti and from Gyula – Pejrét.¹⁸ The type 05b jugs were found in graves G61, G259, and G241 (Pl. III). This variant of the jugs is made of a fine paste with grayish-yellow color and short rounded rim and body. The neck is elongated and profiled with a groove. As far as analogies go, this type can be found in the Tisza region, too.¹⁹ In this classification, the vessel would fit in type 05b of jugs.

The Grave 61 belongs to a child (Infans II, 6–7 years old) with slight signs of the grave reopening, disturbed only at the torso. Dimensions: 0.83 m × 1.6 m, depth: 0.84 m,

¹³ Kovács 1913, 344; Kovács 1913, Fig. 62/10.

¹⁴ Kovács 1913, 344.

¹⁵ Kovács 1913, 265–429; Barbocz 2020.

¹⁶ Hajnal 2006, 188.

¹⁷ Vida 1999, 33–35.

¹⁸ Bârză 2010, 56.

¹⁹ Bârză 2010, 57.

orientation: WSW-ENE. Grave goods: a vessel made on the fast potters wheel, egg shells in the S corner of the grave, and the blade of an iron knife.²⁰

The Grave 241 belongs to an adult grave and signs of robbery were noticed during the excavation. Size: 2.5 × 0.8 m, depth: 1.58 m, oriented WSW-ENE. Grave goods: A vessel made on the fast potter's wheel in the SW corner of the grave and an arrowhead.²¹

The Grave 259 belongs to an adult (?), nearly empty with undoubtable signs of grave reopening. Size: 2.35 m × 0.82 m, depth: 1.2 m, orientation: WSW-ENE. Grave goods: a vessel made on the fast potter's wheel, and a flint.²²

In Hungary, similar jugs were found at Szentes-Berekhát, vessel no. 20 A, being as a stray found,²³ and at Gyula.²⁴

As far as the interpretation goes, burials nowadays emphasize the idea of the funeral organized by the mourners. While the funeral did not represent the deceased as they would have represent themselves but how the community perceived them. During the mortuary treatment the corpse is inserted in the grave (in some cases in a casket or in a funeral chamber) with different objects of the funeral inventory. These objects might have different purposes in the burial ritual, they can be relics, belongings of the deceased, which were part of the person's daily life, war trophies or objects, considered taboos for the living. Therefore, grave goods might display an idealized view about the deceased's social identity and status. Even the grave – reopening ritual or process is interpreted in more ways, from violence against the dead and their families, to a complex ritual within the community to recollect objects from the corpse. The most commonly removed items are swords and jewellery.²⁵

Changes can be traced in the patterns of settlements and cemeteries during the 6th century, based on archaeological records. In Western Europe the hill top settlements were abandoned and larger cemeteries appeared. The new type of cemeteries are called row-grave cemeteries. Their main characteristics are: the presence of grave goods, the funeral rite of inhumation, while the graves are oriented W-E in parallel lines.²⁶

According to Halsall, another change can be in the cemeteries of the beginning of the 7th century, which is more visible in Western Europe than in Transylvania. The decline in the number of grave goods might indicate the popularization of the above ground commemoration, which can be related to the stabilization of social hierarchy and the security of the leading class.²⁷ These changes cannot be observed in Transylvania due to the changing political system, and the large percent of grave's robberies.

As a conclusion, one can say that the vessel was used in the funeral ritual for storage of a liquid of unknown type, since no chemical analysis was made on the contents of the vessel. Ceramic vessels were an important part of the funeral rite accompanying the dead in the grave for the eternity. The vessel was deformed during the fabrication process,

²⁰ Bârză 2010, 188.

²¹ Bârză 2010, 249.

²² Bârză 2010, 256.

²³ Csallány 1961, Taf. CII/10.

²⁴ Csallány 1961, Taf. CXCI/5.

²⁵ Brownlee 2020, 1–7.

²⁶ Brather 2010, 11–13.

²⁷ Halsall 2020, 176–177.

and made after Germanic traditions having analogies in Transylvania and in Hungary. It was made out of really good quality paste, so the craftsman had a good knowledge of the fabrication process of the pottery, but an unfortunate event happened and the jug became deformed. Since no chemical analyses were performed on the contents of the vessel, one can assume after its form that it was used for serving beverages.

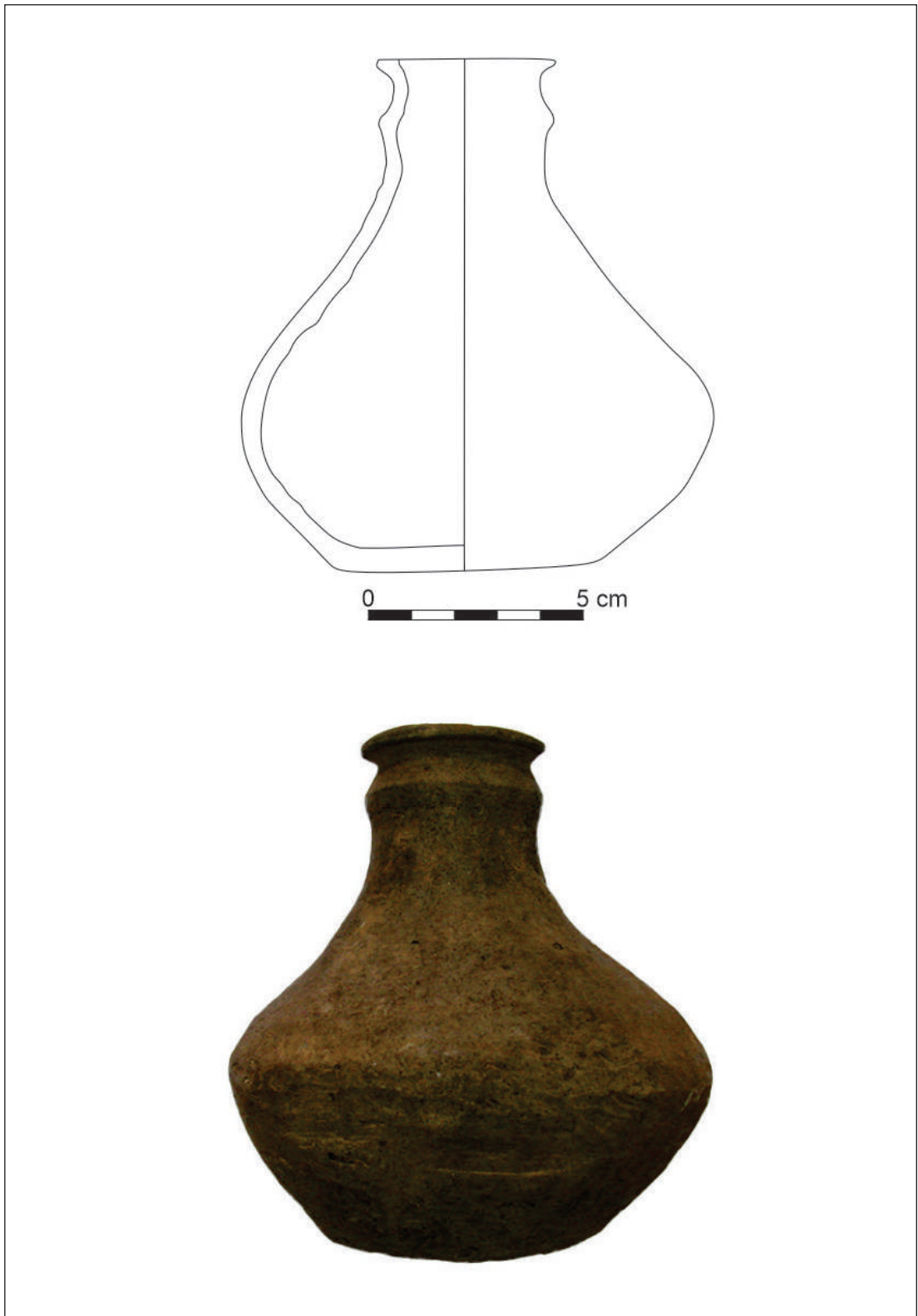
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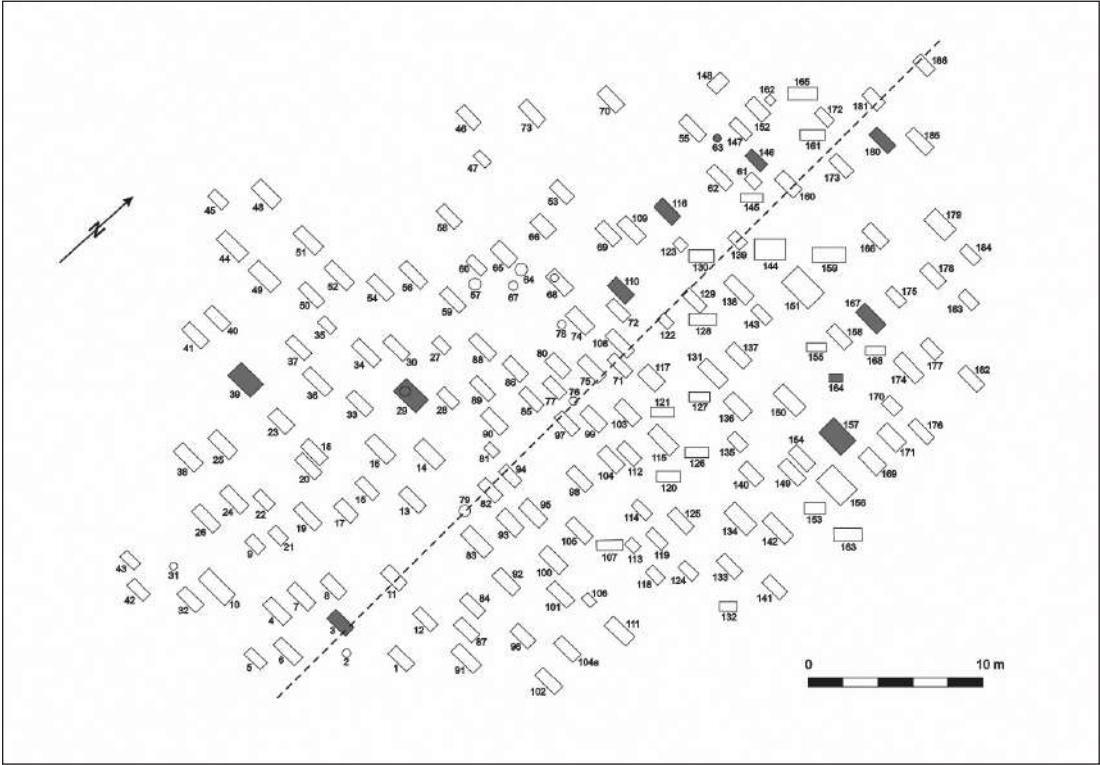
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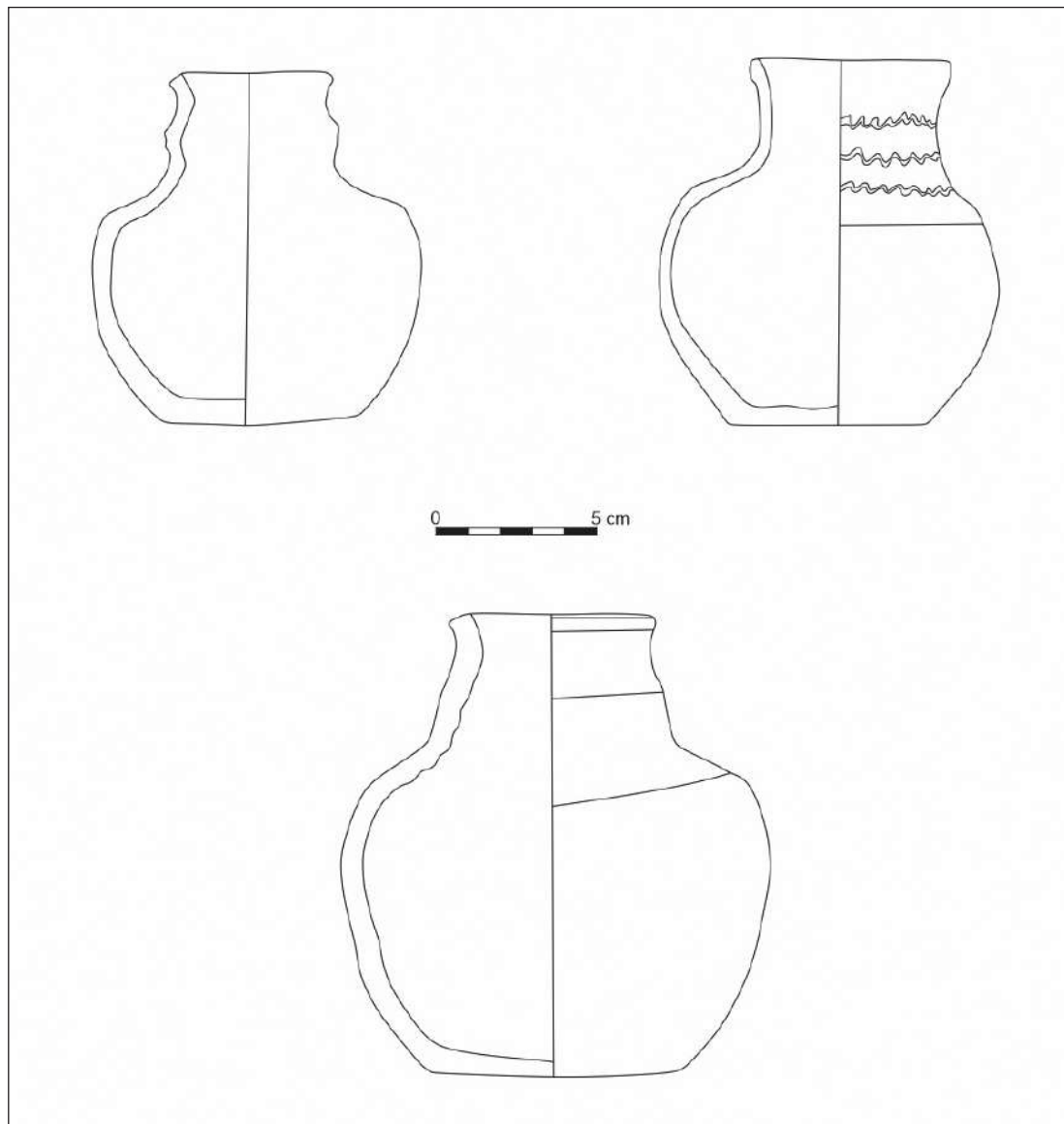
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Pl. I. The jug from grave 137 – cemetery of Ban (author's drawing and photo).



Pl. II. The map of the Migration period cemetery of Band, and the position of the pottery made after Germanic traditions (after Kovács 1913, 265, Fig. 2).



Pl. III: The closest analogies of the jug from Bratei no. 3 cemetery, from grave 61 (after Bârzu 2010, 290, Taf.12/ G61/1), grave 241 (after Bârzu 2010, 318, Taf. 40/G241/2), and grave 259 (after Bârzu 2010, 321, Taf. 43/G259/1).

REVIEWS

DOI 10.54145/ActaMN.I.59.13

Gavin Lucas, *Making Time. The Archaeology of Time revisited*, Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, New York 2021, 145 p., ISBN 978-0-367-54477-5

Gavin Lucas is a Professor of Archaeology at the University of Iceland. His main research interests are theoretical archaeology, and the archaeology of the modern world. *Making Time. The Archaeology of Time Revisited* is his second book on the topic of archaeological time, and is intended both for students, and researchers.¹

It is composed of a *Prologue* entitled *Time after time*, seven chapters and an epilogue – *Making history*. The prologue contains information about the author's aim to publish the book, and the experiences with his colleagues and teachers which led him to write it. Such as every chapter of the book it has more subtitles, which help the reader to organize the main ideas of each chapter.

Chapter 1, *Time Matters*, centres on a philosophical issue regarding the duplicities of time, where different time perceptions are discussed (natural time, cultural time, and, as he gets deeper into the philosophy of time, narrative time). The first part of the book introduces the Einstein – Bergson debate about the relativity of time sustained by Einstein, and the counter argument of Bergson, in whose theory physical time is merely an abstract illusion measured by clocks.

Following this, the author presents different scales and units of measurement, such as metric scale and stratigraphical sequences contouring the complexity of physical and felt time. His arguments are multidisciplinary, including psychology, neuroscience (Freud, and Bachelard), or philosophy (Kant).

Chapter 2, *The archaeological time*, leads to an array from the very beginning of time calculation in a historical sense of the phrase (from the bishop Usher, who calculated the time of creation of the World using the Bible), through different methods (radiocarbon dating, stratigraphy, solar years, dendrochronology) to the construction of the Universal Time. He gives a glimpse of how from the collective and/or social memory the systems shifted to the Anno Domini system through regnal years (and through the religious concept of *aeternitas*) by using clocks and time measuring devices as what concerns time on the level of social history from the small-scale farming through the Industrial Revolution to Capitalism.

Chapter 3, *Time scales*, takes the debate about time in another direction from Braudel's vision about the trinity of historical time (the event, the conjuncture and “la longue durée”) through Clive Gamble's and Daniel Smail's vision about how we should endorse the depth of history, building it from small personal stories which fit into the larger narrative of history (a multi-scalar approach supported by John Robb and Tim Pauketat). A very illustrative example for the problematic relationship between time and archaeology is the

¹ See also Lucas 2005 and Lucas, Olivier 2021. For a better understanding of G. Lucas' mostly post-processual approaches and his position in the field see Lucas 2012 and Lucas 2019, too.

case of Boxgrove (West Sussex, southern England), a site where a short (maybe an hour in duration) flint-clapping action took place somewhere between 478.000 and 524.000 BC. This example allows us to feel the shortness of the action, but also the depth of time. The chapter continues to reveal the depth of Braudel's thoughts and as the author says "de-scaling" it deals with events which happen in a very short time, as momentary flashes, the medium slow-paced events, which can be repetitive and the barely moving very slow paced events. Sometimes change is as slow paced one could barely observe it, just like in the case of Neolithic revolution.

Chapter 4, *The shape of time*. The author presents the beginnings, where the history of measuring units for time meets archaeology, such as the Christian J. Thomsen's Three Age System. The chapter focuses on archaeological methods, and problems like the Harris Matrix, graves and their fill, deposits and stratification, and problems of periodization. The author favours the singular site-wide periodization taking into account the global periodisation and the cross-cultural one. He puts accent on synchronization of the events too, but when describing the method, he only enumerates them, expecting the reader to have some knowledge about them.

Chapter 5, *The same time*. As the title indicates, it is about the simultaneity of events, synchronicity, and contemporaneity. He uses, following Laurent Olivier, the example of the Hochdorf grave, where the discrepancy of chronology of the grave goods is 70–100 years. Three different periods can be traced back: the first one concerns the objects from the deceased lifetime (including inherited objects too), the second group concerns the objects which were introduced between death and inhumation, and the third is related to the burial itself as a manifestation or a ritual. The author also discusses the idea of archaeology as a memory practice, and the idea of preservation of a part for the future.

Chapter 6, *Another time*. Its main focus is the connection of the three possible timelines – the past, the present and the future –, and the way they relate to each other. Excavating a site does not equal time-travelling but finding out more about the past.

Chapter 7, *The Archaeological time machine*, and its main focus is on the time-axis distortion and manipulation practices such as photography and cinematography, and different archaeological methods listed above to create a narrative for the archaeological time.

In the epilogue, the author summarizes the main ideas of the book, raising the rhetorical question "How do things make history?". As he said, present and future cannot be clearly distinguished, because the present moment turns with unimaginable speed into past, and the future into present.

As a final remark, Gavin Lucas' book mainly focuses on the theoretical approach, and on the way we perceive time through archaeology.

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Csaba Szabó, András Bodor and the history of classics in Transylvania in the 20th century, Archaeopress, Oxford 2020, 200 p., 59 figures, ISBN 978-1-78969-834-3.

Csaba Szabó from the University of Szeged, Hungary, is known both in the Romanian academic environment, but also in the Hungarian one, as a specialized researcher on the history of Roman religion. The author became known through the works: *Béla Cserni and the beginnings of urban archaeology in Alba Iulia*, Cluj-Napoca 2016; *Sanctuaries in Roman Dacia: materiality and religious experience*, Archaeopress, Oxford 2018, and *Erdélyi Régészet, Írások régészetről és kulturális örökségvédelemről*, Kolozsvár 2017, as well as *Erdélyi Régészet II*, Kolozsvár 2019.

The book under analysis can be included in the category of biographical works, which started to develop recently in Romania. In specialized literature, there are few works about the life and academic activity of pioneers in archaeology, and about the school of archaeology in Transylvania. For this reason, Csaba Szabó's work is a major contribution to the Romanian historiography. The 200 pages volume begins with an introduction, a preamble, and is structured in two chapters, followed by conclusions, an appendix with the academic correspondence, and the bibliography of András Bodor.

In the short introduction, the author motivates the choice of this topic and aims at presenting the intellectual heritage of the classicist András Bodor, by publishing some unknown documents and manuscripts. In the introductory part, *Research and Sources*, Bodor's work is presented, which the author has researched for almost a decade. This involved a meticulous gathering and ordering of the documents, the digitization of primary material, accessing manuscripts in the archives, but also research at Harris Manchester College, where Bodor studied.

In the preamble, *History of Classics before András Bodor in Transylvania* (p.1–4), the author introduces us to the topic of the history of antiquity in Transylvania, and presents its phases from the first literary sources to the school of classical studies in Cluj, established at the beginning of the 20th century by Constantin Daicoviciu. The author presents aspects from the private life of Bodor, which had a major impact on his professional development.

The first Chapter, *The life of András Bodor*, consisting of 41 pages, is structured in 4 subchapters, and describes the formation of the Hungarian historian from his childhood spent in Suatu, until the end of his life. In the first subchapter, *From Suatu (Magyarszovát) to Oxford: the beginnings (1915–1937)*, one can follow the training and education of the young Bodor, but also interesting episodes, like the one reproduced from the historian published Memoirs, in which he fell in love with art. It should be noted the numerous quotes included by the author to complete the story, which prove his journalist skills. Many important people in his life are described here, starting with his first teacher, Martin Benczédi, and ending with the professor from the University in Cluj. An interesting aspect is the relationship between Bodor András and professor Constantin Daicoviciu during his

studies, but also during the tense period of the communist era. In *The Oxford Years*, a period of 2 years spent in England is described, in which the knowledge acquired there and the relationships formed, were decisive for the rest of his life. The author emphasizes that Bodor's training was due to the intellectual environment and to the possibility to read some works, which were not accessible to classicists from Transylvania at the time. *From Theology to Classics* covers the chronological period from his return from Oxford and the defence of his doctoral thesis, which was published in 1943. The sub-chapter *In the Services of the Universities* begins with Bodor's appointment as a lecturer at the Faculty of History in November 1948 and presents his professional career starting as a substitute professor at the Department of Ancient Universal History of the Faculty of History and Geography, and closing his career as Dean of the Faculty of History between 1956–1958. We must note the good documentation of the author regarding the history of Franz Iosif I University in Cluj and the description of the tense period from 1959, when the staff of the university was relocated. This subchapter presents an episode of the most difficult period in Bodor's life, during the ideological consolidation of the faculty between 1948–1959. Bodor's conflict with Elek Csetri, respectively the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, had both a negative impact on the Hungarian historian. He was released from the position of Dean and he also risked his title of doctor. The entire subchapter deals with Bodor's 40-year career, which was divided into two periods, between the years 1959–1980, respectively the period after the 1990's.

At the end of this chapter, the author rightly wonders why Bodor was not appointed a corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and why he did not benefit from important prizes in Romania or Hungary, while his merits were recognized abroad.

The second chapter, *András Bodor, the Classicist*, comprises 30 pages, is structured in 4 subchapters, and deals with Bodor's academic heritage. In *His Work and Legacy*, the author aims to clarify Bodor's academic activity and presents his attempts to establish a classicist school in Cluj. His efforts were not without result, as they attracted several students to classical studies in Transylvania. In *The so-called "Geto-Dacian" period*, 7 unpublished manuscripts of Bodor about the history of the Dacians are presented, rewritten and some of them translated in Hungarian. In the first study, the author notices the fact that even Bodor was caught up in the ideological movement from the communist era: "...reserved and rather colourless, the vocabulary and narrative of the Dacomania and nationalism that flared up in the 1980s may be found in these texts, presumably to appease the censors" (p. 52). In the presentation of the other studies, Szabó notices that in Bodor's work "the political and ideological pressure can be felt" (p. 53). In the subchapter *Roman History, Art and Religion* 10 studies of Bodor about Roman Dacia are presented. In the author's opinion, Bodor "...set his goal to continue the trend of research into the province of Dacia-started by Károly Torma and Henrik Finály"...(p. 56). We believe that the term "trend" is not the most appropriate, because, at least in the case of Torma Károly, it was more than a trend, it was a systematic research and continuous work with fruitful results. *The History of Ancient Napoca* illustrates Bodor's interest about Roman Napoca since 1950's; he deals with the first monographs of the city, with pre-Roman traces, as well as with the role of veterans in a city without a castrum. The subchapter *Ancient Slavery* describes Bodor's passion for this

subject, born from the influence of Anglo-Saxon literature. At first, he was concerned with the Dacian slaves, then with the rebellion of Spartacus, the period in which he started a long collaboration and friendship with the Japanese historian Masaoki Doi.

In *Conclusions*, the summary is written in three languages: English, Romanian and Hungarian. It is argued once again the fact that the social-political situation, but also the ideological changes had an important role and influenced the intellectual formation of András Bodor in the interwar period: “Bodor’s education in the interwar period was sculpted by this hybrid school, which was shaped partially by Hungarian traditions, the newly emerged Romanian-Transylvanian school dominated by Constantin Daicoviciu, and also by the Bucharest school, symbolised by Vasile Pârvan” (p. 76).

The last part of the volume, *Annexes: the Academic Correspondence of Andras Bodor*, contains 107 letters from his colleagues and students, reproduced in full.

Csaba Szabó’s book is a cornerstone in the archaeological historiography of Transylvania, and it can be said that the author achieved his goal set in the introduction.

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following list contains abbreviations which are not included in the list at http://www.archeo.ens.fr/IMG/pdf/annee_philologique_abrev_revues.pdf

AAA	Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών, Αθήνα.
AB (S. N.)	Analele Banatului, Timișoara; Serie Nouă (S. N.): Analele Banatului, Timișoara.
ABL	C. H. E. Haspel, Attic black-figured lekythoi, Paris 1936.
ABV	J. D. Beazley, Attic black-figure vase-painters, Oxford 1956.
ACD	<i>Acta classica Universitatis scientiarum Debreceniensis</i> , Debrecen 1968-.
ACMIT	Anuarul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice, Secțiunea pentru Transilvania, Cluj.
Acta Carnuntina	<i>Acta Carnuntina</i> . Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft der Freunde Carnuntums, Carnuntum.
ActaMN	<i>Acta Musei Napocensis</i> , Cluj-Napoca.
ActaMP	<i>Acta Musei Porolissensis</i> , Zalău.
ActaTS	<i>Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis</i> , Sibiu.
ActMuz	Din activitatea muzeelor, Cluj-Napoca.
ACSS	Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia. An International Journal of Comparative Studies in History and Archaeology, Bordeaux – Moscow.
Acta Siculica	<i>Acta siculica</i> . Muzeul Național Secuiesc, Sf. Gheorghe.
AE	L'Année Épigraphique, Paris 1888-.
Aegaeum	<i>Aegaeum</i> . Annales d'archéologie égéenne de l'Université de Liège et UT-PASP, Liège.
AEM	Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn, Wien.
Aetas	<i>Aetas</i> . Journal of history and related disciplines, Budapest.
Agora 32	The Athenian Agora. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 32: J. W. Hayes, Roman Pottery: Fine-Ware Imports, Princeton 2008.
AGRW	R. S. Ascough, P. A. Harland, J. S. Kloppenborg, Associations in the Greco-Roman World. A Sourcebook, Waco, TX 2012.
AIIA Cluj	Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie, Cluj-Napoca.
AIIA Iași	Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie, Iași.
AIJ	V. Hoffiller, B. Saria, Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslawien, Heft 1: Noricum und Pannonia Superior, Zagreb 1938.
AISC	Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice, Cluj-Napoca.

Alba Regia	<i>Alba Regia. Annales Musei Stephani Regis – Alba Regia.</i> A Szent István Király Múzeum Évkönyve, Székesfehérvár.
Aluta	<i>Aluta.</i> Revista Muzeului Național Secuiesc, Sfântu Gheorghe.
American Anthropologist	American Anthropologist. Journal of the American Anthropological Association.
AMS	Asia Minor Studien. Forschungsstelle Asia Minor im Seminar für Alte Geschichte der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster.
AnDob	Analele Dobrogei, Muzeul de Istorie Națională și Arheologie Constanța.
Angustia	<i>Angustia.</i> Revista Muzeului Carpaților Răsăriteni, Sfântu Gheorghe.
Annales HSS	<i>Annales.</i> Histoire, Sciences Sociales, Paris.
ANRW	H. Temporini, W. Haase (Hrsgg.), Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, Berlin – New York.
AO	Arhivele Olteniei, Craiova.
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament. Veröffentlichungen zur Kultur und Geschichte des Altens Orients und des Alten Testament, Kevelar/Neurkirchen-Vluyn, Münster.
Apulum	<i>Apulum.</i> Anuarul Muzeului Național al Unirii din Alba Iulia, Alba Iulia.
Aquila Legionis	<i>Aquila legionis.</i> Cuadernos de estudios sobre el Ejército Romano, Universidad de la Rioja.
Arrabona	<i>Arrabona.</i> A Győri Múzeum évkönyve. Győr.
Αρχ	Αρχαιολογία, Αθήνα.
Археология	Археология. Спілка проєхєологів України, Kiev.
ArchAnz	Archäologischer Anzeiger, Berlin.
Archaeologia Bulgarica	<i>Archaeologia Bulgarica</i> , Sofia.
Archeologia	Państwowe Muzeum Archeologiczne, Warszawa.
ΑρχΔελτ	Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον, Αθήνα.
ArchHung	<i>Archaeologia Hungarica. Dissertationes Archaeologicae Musei Nationalis Hungarici a Consilio Arcaeologorum Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae redactae</i> , Budapest.
ArchKözl	Archeológiai Közlemények, Budapest.
Argesis	Studii și comunicări, Muzeul Județean Argeș.
ArhMold	Arheologia Moldovei, Iași.
Arheologia (Sofia)	Arheologija. Organ na Archeologičeskija Institut i Muzej, Sofia.
Arheologie și Studii Clasice	Arheologie și Studii Clasice, București.
ArhVest	Arheološki Vestnik, Ljubljana.
ARYS	ARYS. Antigüedad, Religiones y Sociedades, Instituto de Historiografía “Julio Caro Baroja”, (UC3M), Madrid.
Ausgrabungen und Funde	Ausgrabungen und Funde: Nachrichtenblatt der Landesarchäologie, Berlin 1956–1995.
Avram, PPEE	A. Avram, <i>Prosopographia Ponti Euxini Externa</i> , Colloquia Antiqua 8, Louvain – Paris – Walpole (MA) 2013.

Balcanica	Annual of the Institute for the Balkan Studies, Belgrad.
Banatica	<i>Banatica</i> , Reșița.
BAR	British Archaeological Reports, Oxford.
BCEN	Bulletin du Cercle d'Études Numismatiques.
BCMI	Buletinul Comisiei Monumentelor Istorice, București.
BE	Bulletin épigraphique, Paris 1888.
BHAUT	<i>Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Universitatis Timisiensis</i> , Timișoara.
BMC	H. Mattingly, R. Carson (eds.), <i>Coins of the British Museum</i> , London 1923.
BSAF	Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France.
BSNR	Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române, București.
Bulgaria	I. Jordanov, <i>Corpus of Byzantine seals from Bulgaria. 1: Geographical names</i> , Agato, Sofia 2003; <i>Corpus of Byzantine seals from Bulgaria. 2: Family names</i> , Agato, Sofia 2006; <i>Corpus of Byzantine seals from Bulgaria. 3: SOCASTO</i> , Sofia 2009.
CA	Cercetări Arheologice. Muzeul Național de Istorie, București.
Caiete ARA	Revistă de Arhitectură, Restaurare și Arheologie, București.
Carpica	Revista anuală a Complexului Muzeal „Iulian Antonescu”, Bacău.
CAB	Cercetări Arheologice în București. Muzeul de Istorie și Artă al Municipiului București.
CAG	Carte archéologique de la Gaule 10, L'Aube, Paris 2005; Carte archéologique de la Gaule 6, Les Alpes-Maritimes, Paris 2010.
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History, Cambridge.
CBI	E. Schallmayer et alii (eds.), <i>Corpus der griechischen und lateinischen Beneficiarier-Inschriften des Römischen Reiches</i> , Stuttgart 1990.
CBC	<i>Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum</i> , W. Herwig (ed.), Vienna 1979.
CCA	Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România, București.
CCCA	M. J. Vermaseren, <i>Corpus cultus Cybelae Attidisque VI</i> , Leyden 1989.
CCDJ	Cultură și civilizație la Dunărea de Jos, Călărași.
CCID	M. Hörig, E. Schwertheim (eds.), <i>Corpus cultus Iovis Dolicheni</i> , EPRO 106, Leiden 1987.
CCIS	E. N. Lane, <i>Corpus cultus Iovis Sabazii</i> , Leyden 1985.
Ch&K	Chaos e Kosmos. Per Tommaso Marciano, Roma, http://www.chaosekosmos.it/pdf/2009_01.pdf .
CIA	Kircchoff et alii (eds.), <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum</i> , Berlin 1873 sqq.
CIG	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , I-IV, Berlin 1828–1877.
CIGD	L. Ruscu, <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum Dacicarum</i> , HPS 10, Debrecen 2003.
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , Berlin 1863 sqq.
CILA	J. González (ed.), <i>Corpus de inscripciones latinas de Andalucía</i> , Sevilla 1989–1991, I-III.

CIMRM	M. J. Vermaseren, <i>Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae</i> , III, The Hague 1956, 1960.
Civiltà	Civiltà romana in Romania, Roma 1970.
ChLA	<i>Chartae Latinae Antiquiores</i> .
Classica et Christiana	<i>Classica et Christiana</i> . Revista Centrului de Studii Clasice și Creștine, Iași.
CMG	<i>Corpus Medicorum Graecorum</i> .
CMRDM	E. N. Lane, <i>Corpus monumentorum religionis Dei Menis</i> , Leiden 1976.
CMRED	D. Tudor, <i>Corpus monumentorum religionis equitum Danuviorum</i> , I–II, Leiden 1969–1976.
CN	Cercetări Numismatice, București.
CNT	<i>Corpus Nummorum Thracorum</i> : https://www.corpus-nummorum.eu/
Coll. Antropol.	<i>Collegium antropologicum</i> , School Of Biological Anthropology, Zagreb.
CommArchHung	<i>Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungaricae</i> , Budapest.
Comunicări de geologie	Comunicări de geologie. Societatea de Științe Naturale și Geografie a Republicii Populare Romîne, București.
CPL	<i>Corpus Papyrorum Latinarum</i> .
Crisia	<i>Crisia</i> . Muzeul Țării Crișurilor, Oradea.
CSIR	<i>Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani</i> .
A Csíki Székely Múzeum Évkönyve	A Csíki Székely Múzeum Évkönyve, Miercurea Ciuc.
Cumidava	<i>Cumidava</i> . Muzeul Județean de Istorie, Brașov.
CVA	<i>Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum</i> .
DA	Ch. V. Daremberg, Ed. Saglio, Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines, d'après les textes et les monuments, Paris 1877–1919.
Dacia (N. S.)	<i>Dacia – Recherches et découvertes archéologiques en Roumanie; Nouvelle Série (N. S.): Dacia – Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne</i> , București.
Diacronia	Diacronia. http://www.diacronia.ro/ro/journal/about
A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve	A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve. <i>Annales Musei Debreceniensis de Frederico Déri nominate</i> , Debrecen.
DissPann	<i>Dissertationes Pannonicae</i> , Budapest.
Dizionario Epigrafico	E. di Ruggiero (ed.), Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane, I–III, Roma 1895–1922.
DO	Ph. Grierson et alii, Catalogue of the Byzantine coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Wittemore Collection, I–V, DO Research Library, Washington D.C. 1966–1999.
Dobrudža	Dobrudža. Études Éthno-culturelles, Sofia.
Documenta Praehistorica	<i>Documenta Praehistorica</i> , Ljubljana.
Dolgozatok/Travaux	Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem és Régiségtárából, Kolozsvár (Cluj) / Travaux de la section numismatique et archéologique du Musée National de Transylvanie à Kolozsvár (Cluj).

Drobeta	<i>Drobeta</i> , Drobeta-Turnu Severin.
EAIVR	Enciclopedia arheologiei și istoriei vechi a României, București 1994-.
EDCS	Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss/ Slaby (http://www.manfredclauss.de/).
EDR	<i>Ephemeris Dacoromana</i> . Annuario della Scuola Romana di Roma, Roma.
EJA	European Journal of Archaeology, Cambridge.
EME	Erdélyi Múzeum-Egylet Évkönyvei, Kolozsvár [Cluj] 1859 sqq.
EN	<i>Ephemeris Napocensis</i> , Cluj-Napoca.
EphEp	<i>Ephemeris Epigraphica: Corporis inscriptionum Latinarum supplementum</i> , Roma 1872 sqq.
Epigraphische Studien	Epigraphische Studien, Bonn.
EPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain, Leiden.
Erdély	Erdély Honismertető Folyóirat. Az Erdély Kárpát-Egyesületnek és Múzeumának értesítője, Kolozsvár.
ErdMuz	Erdélyi Múzeum. Kiadja az Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület, Kolozsvár.
Έργον	Έργον της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας, Αθήνα.
Études et Travaux	Études et Travaux. Annual of the Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw.
FolArch	<i>Folia Archaeologica. Annales Musei Nationalis Hungarici</i> , Budapest.
FPA 1–7	P. Kovács (and B. Fehér 1–2) (ed.), <i>Fontes Pannoniae Antiquae</i> , 1–7, Budapest 2003–2013.
Fundberichte aus Baden-Württemberg	Fundberichte aus Baden-Württemberg, Stuttgart.
GED	W. Ph. Lehmann, Gothic Etymological Dictionary, Leiden 1986.
Gephyra	<i>Gephyra</i> : Journal for the Ancient History and Cultures of the Eastern Mediterranean, Akdeniz University, Antalya.
Glasnik	Glasnik Srpskog Arheološkog Društva (Journal of the Serbian Archaeological Society), Belgrade.
GLIA	S. Mitchell, D. French, The Greek and Latin inscriptions of Ankara (Ancyra), I. From Augustus to the end of the third century AD, München 2012.
GVI	W. Peek, Griechische Vers-Inschriften. 1. Grab-Epigramme, Berlin 1955.
HD	Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg, edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de .
A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve	A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve. <i>Annales Musei Miskolciensis de Herman Ottó Nominati</i> , Miskolc.
Hierá	<i>Hierá</i> . Collana di studi storico-religiosi, Cosenza.
HPS	Hungarian Polis Studies, Debrecen.
HSCPh	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Cambridge.
HTRTÉ	A Hunyadmegyei Történelmi és régészeti Társulat Évkönyve, I–XXII, Deva 1880–1913.

IAA Reports	Israel Antiquities Authority, Jerusalem.
IDR	<i>Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae</i> , I–III, București – Paris 1975 sqq.
IDRE	C. C. Petolescu, <i>Inscriptions externes concernant l'histoire de la Dacie</i> , I–II, București 1996, 2000.
IEW	J. Pokorny, <i>Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch</i> , 1–2, Bern – Munich 1959, 1969, 2005 ⁵ .
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> , Berlin 1873 sqq.
IGB	G. Mihailov, <i>Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae</i> , I–V, Serdicae (Sofia), 1956–1997.
IGLNovae	J. Kolendo, V. Božilova, <i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de Novae (Mésie Inférieure)</i> , Bordeaux – Paris 1997.
IGLR	Em. Popescu, <i>Inscripțiile grecești și latine din secolele IV–XIII descoperite în România: culese, traduse în românește, însoțite de indici și comentate</i> , București 1976.
IGLS	<i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie</i> , Paris 1929 sqq.
ILAf	R. Cagnat, A. Merlin, L. Châtelain, <i>Inscriptions latines d'Afrique</i> , Paris 1923.
ILBulg	B. Gerov, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria repertae</i> , I, Sofia 1989.
ILCV	Ernst Diehl: <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres</i> , Berlin 1925–1967.
ILD	C. Petolescu, <i>Inscripții latine din Dacia</i> , București I, 2005; II, 2016.
ILJug	A. Šašel, J. Šašel, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt</i> , Ljubljana 1963.
ILLPRON	M. Hainzmann, P. Schubert, <i>Inscriptionum lapidariarum Latinarum provinciae Norici usque ad annum MCMLXXXIV repertarum indices</i> , Berlin – New York 1986.
ILS	H. Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , I–IV, Berlin 1882–1916.
IMS	<i>Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure</i> , IVI, Beograd 1976–1982.
INMV	<i>Izvestija na Narodnija Muzej</i> – Varna, Bulgaria.
InscrItal	<i>Inscriptiones Italiae</i> , Roma 1937.
ISM	<i>Inscripțiile din Scythia Minor grecești și latine</i> , București 1980 sqq.
Istros	<i>Istros</i> . Buletinul Muzeului Brăilei, Brăila.
JAHA	<i>Journal of Ancient History and Archaeology</i> . The journal of the Institute of Archaeology and Art History of Romanian Academy, Cluj-Napoca.
Journal of Democracy	<i>Journal of Democracy</i> , Washington DC.
JSA	<i>Journal of Social Archaeology</i> , http://jsa.sagepub.com/ .
Journal of Military History	<i>Journal of Military History</i> , Lexington (VA).
Journal of Religion and Health	<i>Journal of Religion and Health</i> , Blanton-Peale Institute.
Közlemények	<i>Közlemények az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem- és Régiségértárából</i> , Budapest.
ΚρηXρον	<i>Κρητικά Χρονικά</i> , Ηράκλειο.
krisis/crisi	<i>krisis/crisi</i> , Roma 2012.

KSK RBS	Kleine Schriften zur Kenntnis der römischen Besetzungsgeschichte Südwestdeutschlands, Stuttgart.
KunArchiv	Kün Archiv: Arbeiten aus dem Landwirtschaftlichen Institut der Universität Halle, Berlin.
KVHAA	Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, Stockholm.
LANX	LANX. Rivista della Scuola di specializzazione in Beni archeologici dell' Università deli Studi di Milano, Milano.
LGPN	Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, Oxford, http://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/ .
Libelli Archaeologici	<i>Libelli Archaeologici</i> , Budapest.
Libyca	<i>Libyca</i> . Bulletin du Service des Antiquités. Archéologie, Épigraphie, Alger.
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> , 1981 sqq.
LIMES	Buletin Limes. Frontierele Imperiului Roman în România. Publicație susținută de Comisia Limes România.
L&S	C. T. Lewis, C. Short, A new Latin Dictionary, New York – Oxford 1891.
Lupa	<i>Ubi erat lupa</i> , www.ubi-erat-lupa.org .
MAL	Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Memorie. Classe di Scienze morali storiche e filologiche, Roma.
Madriider Mitteilungen	Madriider Mitteilungen. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Madrid.
Marisia	<i>Marisia</i> . Studii și materiale. Arheologie, istorie, etnografie, Muzeul Județean Mureș, Târgu Mureș.
Marmatia	<i>Marmatia</i> , Baia Mare.
Masson, OGS	Masson, OGS = O. Masson, <i>Onomaslica Graeca Selecta I-II</i> , Paris 1990.
MCA	Materiale și cercetări arheologice, București.
Medicina nei secoli	Medicina nei Secoli, Roma.
MelBidez	Mélanges Joseph Bidez, Bruxelles 1934 (= Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves 2, Bruxelles 1933–1934).
Memoria Antiquitatis	<i>Memoria Antiquitatis</i> . Acta Musei Petrodavensis, Piatra Neamț.
MGAH	<i>Monumenta Germanorum Archaeologica Hungariae</i> , Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest.
MGH AA	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi</i> , Hannover – Berlin 1826 sqq.
MGH SRG	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum</i> .
MGH. SRM	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum</i> , Hannover 1896.
MGH SS	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in Folio)</i> .
Michmanim	Michmanim. The Bulletin of the Reuben and Edith Hecht Museum. Haifa University.
MMM	Fr. Cumont, Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra, II, Bruxelles 1896.

Musaios	<i>Musaios</i> , Muzeul Județean Buzău.
Neohelicon	Neohelicon. <i>Acta Comparitionis Litterarum Universalis</i> , Budapest.
Novensia	<i>Novensia</i> : badania Ekspedycji Archeologicznej Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego w Novae, Warszawa.
OLD	Oxford Latin Dictionary, Oxford 1968.
OnomThrac	D. Dana, <i>Onomasticon Thracicum. Répertoire des noms indigènes de Thrace, Macédoine Orientale, Mésies, Dacie et Bithynie</i> , Μελετήματα 70, Athens 2014.
OpArch	<i>Opuscula Archaeologica</i> Radovi Arheološkog zavoda -Opuscula Archaeologica Papers of the Department of Archaeology, Zagreb.
OPEL	B. Lőrincz, F. Redő et alii, <i>Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum</i> , I–IV, Budapest 1994–2005.
ORA	Orientalische Religionen in der Antike.
Orghidan	V. Laurent, <i>La collection Orghidan</i> , Paris 1952.
Oriens et Occidens	<i>Oriens et Occidens</i> . Studien zu antiken Kulturkontakten und ihrem Nachleben, Stuttgart.
ORL	ORL. Der obergermanisch-raetische Limes des Roemerreiches.
Ősrégészeti Levelek	Ősrégészeti Levelek. Prehistoric newsletter, Budapest.
PamátkyArch	Památky Archeologické, Praga.
PAS	Prähistorische Archäologie in Südosteuropa, Berlin.
PAT	<i>Patrimonium Archaeologicum Transylvanicum</i> , Cluj-Napoca.
PAwB	Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge.
PBF	Prähistorische Bronzefunde, Berlin.
PECS	R. Stillwell, W. L. MacDonald, M. Holland McAllister (eds.), <i>The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites</i> , Princeton University Press 1976.
Peuce	<i>Peuce</i> . Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale “Gavrilă Simion”, Tulcea.
PF 5	U. Mandel, <i>Kleinasiatische Reliefkeramik der mittleren Kaiserzeit. Die “Oinophorengruppe” und Verwandtes</i> , Pergamenische Forschungen 5, Berlin – New York 1980.
Phil.-Hist. Klasse	Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Berlin.
Phoenix	<i>Phoenix</i> . Classical Association of Canada, Toronto.
PG	J.-P. Migne, <i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca</i> , Harvard University 1857.
PIR	<i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani</i> , Berlin 1897–1898.
PIR²	E. Groag, A. Stein et alii, <i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani²</i> , Berlin 1933 sqq.
P. Lond	F. G. Kenyon, H. I. Bell (eds.), <i>Greek Papyri in the British Museum</i> , London 1893–1917.
PLRE	A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale, J. Morris (eds.), <i>Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> , I–III, Cambridge 1971–1992.
P. Mich.	Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection.

Pontica	<i>Pontica</i> . Studii și materiale de istorie, arheologie și muzeografie, Constanța.
Potaissa	<i>Potaissa</i> . Studii și Comunicări, Turda.
P. Oxy.	Oxyrhynchus Papyri.
Probleme de Muzeologie	Probleme de Muzeologie, București.
PZ	Prähistorische Zeitschrift, Berlin.
RCRF Acta	<i>Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Acta</i> .
RD	F. Rómer, E. Desjardins, A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum római feliratos emlékei – <i>Inscriptiones monumentorum Romanorum Musei Nationalis, Acta Nova Musei Nationalis</i> , 1, Budapest 1873.
RE	A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, K. Ziegler (eds.), <i>Realencyclopädie der classischen altertumswissenschaft</i> , Stuttgart 1893 sqq.
Religion	Religion, http://www.tandfonline.com/ .
Religious Studies	Religious Studies. An International Journal for the Philosophy of Religion, Cambridge.
Rheinisches Museum	Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Köln.
RepCluj	I. H. Crișan, M. Bărbulescu, E. Chirilă, V. Vasiliev, I. Winkler, <i>Repertoriul arheologic al județului Cluj</i> , Cluj-Napoca 1992.
RepHargita	V. Cavruc (ed.), <i>Repertoriul arheologic al județului Harghita</i> , Sfântu Gheorghe 2000.
Revista Arheologică	Revista Arheologică, Chișinău.
RB	Revista Bistriței, Bistrița.
Revista Fundațiilor Regale	Revista Fundațiilor Regale: revistă lunară de literatură, artă și cultură generală, București.
Revista de Istorie	Revista de istorie. Academia de Științe Sociale și Politice a Republicii Socialiste România. Secția de Istorie și Arheologie, București.
RevMuz	Revista Muzeelor, București.
Revue Roumaine d'Histoire	Revue Roumaine d'Histoire, Bucarest.
RGRW	Religions in the Graeco-Roman World, Brill series.
RGZM	B. Pferdehirt, <i>Römische Militärdiplome und Entlassungsurkunden in der Sammlung des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums</i> , I–II, Mainz – Bonn 2004.
RIB	The Roman Inscriptions of Britain, Oxford 1965 sqq.
RIC	Roman Imperial Coinage, London 1923–
RIT	G. Alföldi, <i>Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco</i> , Berlin 1975.
RIU	Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns, I–VI, Budapest – Bonn 1972–2001.
Rivista storica dell'antichità	Rivista storica dell'antichità, Roma.
Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia	Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia, Milano.
RMD	M. M. Roxan, P. Holder, <i>Roman Military Diplomas</i> , I–V, London 1978–2006.

RMI	Revista Monumentelor Istorice, București.
Romanian Journal of Archaeology	Romanian Journal of Archaeology, http://apar.archaeology.ro/rja.htm .
RMR	R. O. Fink, Roman Military Records on Papyrus, Cleveland, Ohio 1971.
RPC I	A. Burnett et alii, Roman Provincial Coinage I: From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius (44 BC – AD 69), London, Paris 1992.
RPMK	Th. F. X. Noble (ed.), From Roman provinces to Medieval kingdoms. Rewriting Histories, New York – Abingdon, Oxon 2006.
RR	Römer in Rumänien. Ausstellung des Römisch-Germanischen Museums Köln und des Historischen Museums Cluj, 12. Februar – 18 Mai 1969, Köln 1969.
RRE	Religion in the Roman Empire, Erfurt.
RSS	A. Mócsy, T. Szentlélek, Die römischen Steindenkmäler von Savaria, Budapest 1971.
SA	<i>Studia Archaeologica</i> , Roma.
SAA	<i>Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica</i> , Iași.
Saggi	I Saggi, Roma.
Saldvie	Saldvie: Estudios de prehistoria y arqueología. Open Access Journal.
Sargetia	<i>Sargetia</i> . Buletinul Muzeului Județean Hunedoara, Deva.
Savaria	<i>Savaria</i> . A Vas Megyei Múzeumok Értesítője, Szombathely.
SAWW	Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Wien.
SBA	Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft.
SCIV(A)	Studii și cercetări de istorie veche (și arheologie – since 1975), București.
SCN	Studii și cercetări de numismatică, București.
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> , Leiden 1923 sqq.
Silber und Salz	R. Slotta, V. Wollmann, I. Dordea, <i>Silber und Salz in Siebenbürgen. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Deutschen Bergbau-Museum Bochum « Das Gold der Karpaten – Bergbau in Roșia Montană » vom 27. Oktober 2002 bis zum 05. August 2003, IV (Einleitende Aufsätze, Reiseberichte sowie geologische und mineralogische Literatur)</i> , Bochum 2002.
Situla	<i>Situla</i> . Razprave Narodnega Muzeja v Ljubljani – <i>Dissertationes Musei Nationalis Labacensis</i> , Ljubljana.
SlovArch	Slovenská Archeológia, Nitra.
SMMIM	Studii și materiale de muzeografie și istorie militară, București.
MSR	Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni.
Social History of Medicine	Social History of Medicine, Oxford.
Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei	Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei. Mitteilungen der Museen des Komitates Somogy, Kaposvár.
SpecNov	<i>Specimina Nova Dissertationum ex Institutis Historiae Antiquae et Archaeologiae Universitatis Quinqueecclesiensis</i> , Pécs.
StComBrukenthal	Studii și comunicări, Muzeul Brukenthal, Sibiu.

StComSatuMare	Studii și comunicări, Satu Mare.
Studii de Preistorie	Studii de Preistorie, http://arheologie.ro .
SympThrac	<i>Symposia Thracologica</i> . Lucrările Simpozionului Anual de Tracologie, Institutul Român de Tracologie, București.
TabCerDac	I. I. Russu, <i>Tabulae Ceratae Dacicae</i> . In: IDR, I, 1975, 165–256.
TED'A	Taller Escola d'Arqueologia de Tarragona.
Terra Sebus	<i>Terra Sebus. Acta Musei Sabesiensis</i> , Sebeș.
ThesCRA	M. Greenberg (ed.), <i>Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum</i> , Los Angeles 2004.
Thraco-Dacica	<i>Thraco-Dacica</i> . Institutul de Tracologie, București.
TIR	<i>Tabula Imperii Romani</i> .
Tisicum	<i>Tisicum</i> . A Szolnok megyei múzeumi évkönyv, Szolnok.
TitAq	P. Kovács, Á. Szabó, <i>Tituli Aquincenses</i> , Budapest 2009 sqq.
Transactions Philadelphia	University of Pennsylvania. Transactions of the Department of Archaeology, Free Museum of Science and Art, Philadelphia.
Transylvanian Review	Transylvanian Review. Revue de Transylvanie, Cluj-Napoca.
TRHR	P. Kovács, <i>Tituli Romani in Hungaria reperti. Supplementum</i> , Budapest-Bonn 2005.
Tyragetia	<i>Tyragetia</i> . Muzeul Național de Istorie a Moldovei, Chișinău.
UPA	Universitätsforschungen zur Prähistorischen Archäologie, Bonn.
Zentraleuropäische Archäologie	Zentraleuropäische Archäologie. Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien.
Ziridava	<i>Ziridava</i> . Complexul Muzeal Arad.

Institutions:

CEROR	Centre d'Études et de Recherches sur l'Occident Romain, Lyon.
ICEM	Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale "Gavrilă Simion" Tulcea.
MAVORS	MAVORS – Institute for Ancient Military History.
MCDR	Muzeul Civilizației Dacice și Romane Deva.
MIR	Muzeul de Istorie Roman.
MIT	Muzeul de Istorie Turda.
MJERGC	Muzeul Județean de Etnografie și al Regimentului de Graniță caransebeș.
MJIAZ	Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Artă Zalău.
MNIR	Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București.
MNIT	Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca.
MNM = HNM	Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum = Hungarian National Museum, Budapest.
MNUAI	Muzeul Național al Unirii Alba-Iulia.
MȚC	Muzeul Țării Crișurilor, Oradea.
NMB	The Nationam Bardo Museum, Tunis.

